

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C., AS SEEN FROM AN AIRPLANE.

LIVING AND WORKING TOGETHER

BY

DEWITT S. MORGAN

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
ARSENAL TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, INDIANAPOLIS

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

BOSTON

COPYRIGHT, 1923, BY
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

Printed in the United States of America



TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE

This book attempts to throw into bold relief for the young high-school pupil some of the significant facts and features of the social, economic, and political organization of our society. It attempts to develop a habit of thought upon civic questions which shall prompt the pupil to analyze conditions before he proceeds to criticise them, to give him a point of view which will enable him to adjust and readjust himself in a social order which is making increasingly larger demands upon the powers of co-operation of the individual, to construct a framework upon which he may build in the future a solid structure of civic thought out of the substance of his experience with society itself.

An effort has been made not to underrate the ability of the pupil to think in terms of principles and to discern relationships. He is at an age when fundamental concepts can be established; it is not too much to hope to create a clear conception of such things as the elements of society, a positive attitude toward law, a clean-cut idea of the forces in production, and a power to analyze the features of an organized government. These are but illustrative of elements of subject-matter which are as basic and fundamental for the creation of a sound citizenship as a knowledge of the multiplication table is for the preparation of a civil engineer.

While it is helpful for the pupil to draw upon as wide a range of supplementary readings as time and energy will

permit, special attention should be directed to prevent such reading from becoming aimless. It is very desirable to make the process of instruction in the high school intensive rather than extensive. Opportunity should be given to the pupil to think *through* some important problems rather than to think *over* a great number. There is no reason why the teacher in a school with very restricted reference material need discount the caliber of the civic instruction which he can give. While his pupils cannot read so widely, they can be led to think clearly and perhaps deeply. The problems of the text have been formulated with this in mind. With an earnest teacher whose head is right and whose heart is right on the problems of citizenship there need be no reason why he should fear lest he fall short in this important task merely because his pupils do not have access to a large library.

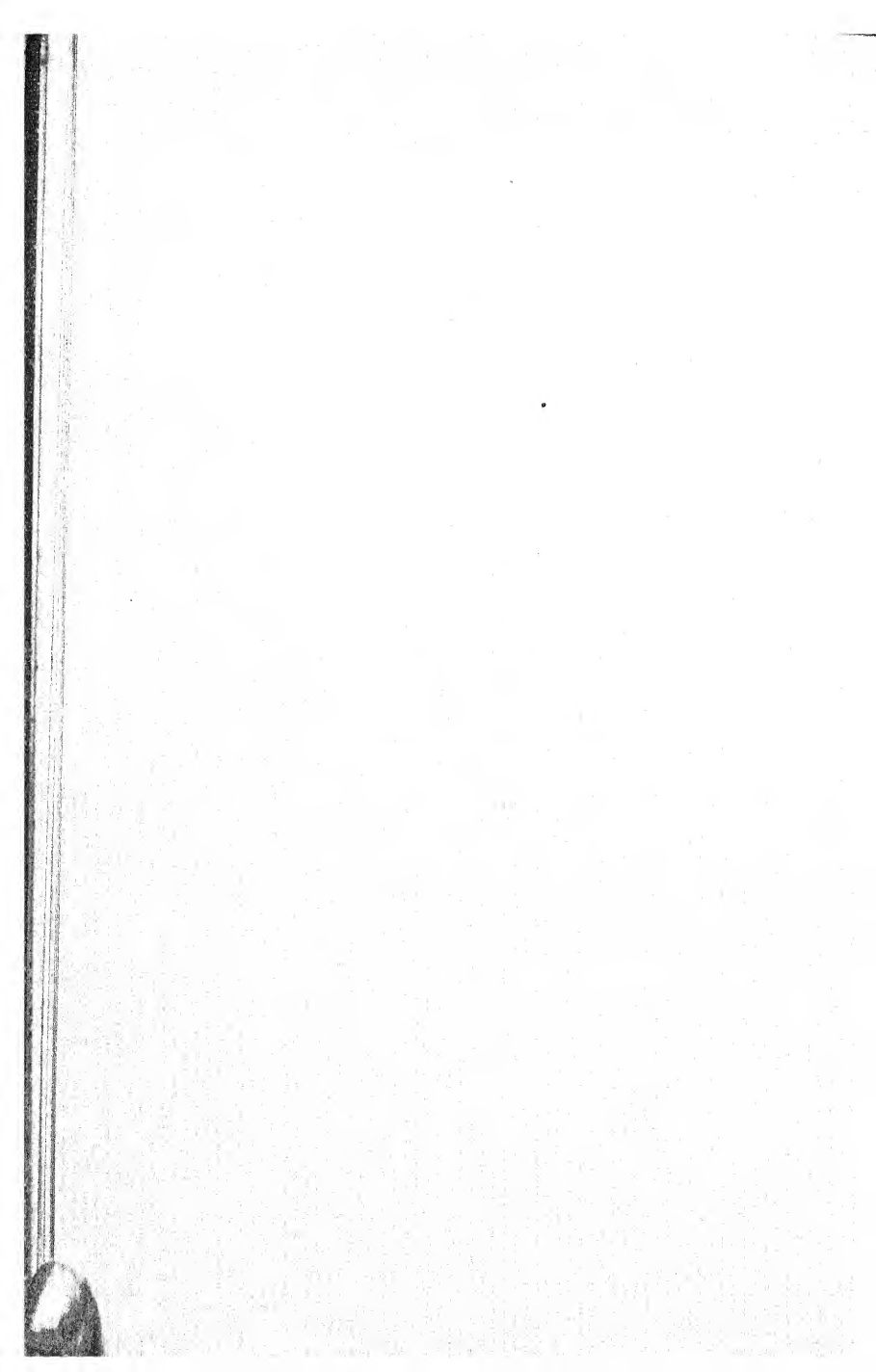
Fullest recognition should be given to the fact that the public school is itself a great laboratory of citizenship. The principles which we teach for the community at large should find their fullest expression in the conduct of the student body within the school itself. Our job is not one of teaching future citizens, but of teaching *present citizens*. The public school is populated with citizens just as truly as is the city hall or the court-house. A schoolroom full of loafing boys is as much a hotbed of graft as any public office could ever be. It should be the constant aim of the teacher to focus the attention of the pupils on their own civic problems — to see that their school actually represents a manifestation of civic spirit which the pupil in the

classroom will all too readily profess. We must develop in our pupils the recognition that they *are* citizens — *real* and *not imitation*. Real citizens will make of their school a model of civic spirit and civic accomplishment. If we can get them to solve their civic problems in the school, we need not question how they will perform when they attempt to work out other civic problems later on.

A book of this character is, of course, a formulation of subject-matter from a considerable range in the field of the social sciences, and to many teachers and writers I owe very much. I am especially indebted, however, to Mr. M. H. Stuart, Principal of the Arsenal Technical Schools, for his constant encouragement, counsel, and practical wisdom which have contributed so much to the course in Group Civics in the Technical High School from which this book has evolved. To my colleagues, who are proving in the classroom, day by day, that civic instruction can be made interesting, and, at the same time, effective in producing a student citizenship which promises a right-minded adult citizenship, I am deeply grateful.

D. S. M.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.



CONTENTS

PART I—SOME PROBLEMS OF THE NEW CITIZENSHIP

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE NEW WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE	3
Section I—Comparing the Old with the New	3
Section II—What Brought the Changes	6
Section III—New Problems Which Came with Change	8
II. ANALYZING OUR COMMUNITY LIFE	13
Section I—A Bird's-Eye View of Citizenship Activities	13
Section II—What Some of the Groups Are and What They Do	17
Section III—How One Class of Groups Affects the Others	22
Section IV—The Benefits That Come from Co-operation	24
III. PRINCIPLES OF EFFECTIVE CO-OPERATION	28
Section I—There Must Be Law	28
Section II—The Welfare of the Group Must Be Regarded as of Greater Importance than the Welfare of the Individual	34
Section III—In Order that People May Effectively Work Together, It Is Necessary that the Group Be Organized	36
Section IV—No Effective Group Work Is Possible Without Competent Leadership	38
Section V—Every Citizen Should Understand the Value of the Service of Those Groups to Which He Belongs and Be Willing to Work Earnestly and Loyal-ly for Their Success	39
IV. CO-OPERATION AND THE SCHOOL	41
Section I—How the Money for Schools Is Secured	41
Section II—How the School Needs of the Community Are Determined; How Schools Are Managed	44

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Section III—How the Property of the Community Is Valued	48
	Section IV—What Is a Levy and How Is It Determined?	49
	Section V—Who Collects the Taxes?	50
	Section VI—Student Citizenship	52
	PART II—THE CITIZEN IN INDUSTRY	
V.	FIRST PRINCIPLES FOR CITIZENS IN INDUSTRY	59
	Section I—Our Increasing Wants	59
	Section II—The Kinds of Work Which Men Do to Satisfy Wants	60
	Section III—Four Things That Are Employed in Producing Goods	64
	Section IV—A Problem in Division	73
VI.	THE COMING OF THE AGE OF GREAT MACHINES	76
	Section I—How Men Lived Before the Age of Machines	76
	Section II—The Development of Machines	78
	Section III—How Power Was Supplied to Run Machines	82
VII.	HOW GREAT INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ARE ESTABLISHED, OWNED, AND CONTROLLED	87
	Section I—How Great Industrial Enterprises Are Established and Owned	87
	Section II—How Great Industrial Enterprises Are Controlled	92
VIII.	CONDITIONS WHICH RESULTED FROM THE USE OF GREAT MACHINES IN PRODUCING GOODS	98
	Section I—Manufacturing Was Removed from the Home	98
	Section II—More Goods Were Produced	99
	Section III—Wealth Greatly Increased	103
	Section IV—There Was a Change in the Relative Importance of Brains and Brawn	104
	Section V—Men Became Specialists	106
	Section VI—The Worker Became an Employee	111
	Section VII—The Employer and Employees Were Separated	113
	Section VIII—Great Cities Grew Up	115

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER

PAGE

IX. SPECIALIZATION OF CITIES	119
Section I—Why Cities Specialize	119
Section II—The Specialization of Cities Increased the Need for Transportation	125
Section III—How Specialization Increased the Need for Means of Exchange of Goods	128
X. WHAT OF OUR COUNTRY'S FUTURE?	134
Section I—What Is Conservation?	134
Section II—Some Natural Resources We Should Guard	137
Section III—Conservation of Labor-Power	145
Section IV—Wise Use of Capital	150

PART III—THE CITIZEN IN GOVERNMENT

XI. THE BENEFITS OF GOVERNMENT	155
Section I—Protecting Life and Health	155
Section II—Establishing Liberty and Justice	159
Section III—Establishing Property Rights	160
Section IV—Establishing Standards of Measure; Educa- tional Institutions; Charitable Institutions	162
Section V—Public Works	165
Section VI—Providing Means for Promoting the Common Welfare	166
XII. THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE	168
Section I—What Was "Divine Right of Kings"?	169
Section II—The Rise of Free Government in England	171
Section III—The Rise of Free Government in France	178
Section IV—The Rise of Free Government in America	187
XIII. THE AMERICAN PLAN OF GOVERNMENT	195
Section I—The Relation of National Government to State Government	195
Section II—The Relation Between State and Local Governments	211
Section III—How the Tasks of Government Are Divided and How Done	215
Section IV—Political Parties and Elections	217

CHAPTER	PAGE
Section V—Citizenship and Voting	224
Section VI—Summary	226
XIV. THE ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	228
Section I—The Relation Between the Various Branches of the Government	228
Section II—The Legislative Branch	231
Section III—The Executive Branch	234
Section IV—The Judicial Department	239
Section V—How the Federal Government Is Financed	241
XV. STATE GOVERNMENT	244
Section I—The General Features of Organization of State Government	244
Section II—The Legislative Branch of State Government	249
Section III—The Executive Branch of State Government	251
Section IV—The State Courts	252
Section V—How State Governments Are Financed	253
XVI. THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES AND TOWNS	254
Section I—The Problems of a City and How They Are Solved	254
Section II—New Forms of City Government	260
XVII. SOME PROBLEMS OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN	264
APPENDIX	271
The Declaration of Independence	271
Constitution of the United States	276
INDEX	293

ILLUSTRATIONS

The Capitol, Washington, D. C., as Seen from an Airplane	<i>Frontispiece</i>
A Modern Steamship, the <i>Aquitania</i> , Compared in Size with a Modern Limited Train	PAGE 4
Airplane View of the Business Section of One of Our Cities	14
Many of Our Industrial Concerns Maintain Night Schools for Their Employees	19
A Public Playground for Children Maintained by the City Government	26
A Good Ball Team is the Result of Every Man Being Placed According to His Ability and Playing His Position Well	37
The Municipal Concert Given in One of Our Large Cities for the Benefit of Office-Workers is Paid for by Public Money	51
Care and Modern Methods Produced this Corn, Thirteen Feet High	65
A Contrast to Modern Methods	73
A Primitive Method Used in China in Reeling Cotton Thread for Use on the Loom	74
Electric Power Looms in a Modern Cotton-Mill	80
A Hand-Loom of Colonial Days	80
Model of Watt's Steam-Engine	83
The Skyscrapers of New York City Were Made Possible by the "Age of Steel"	85
Interior of the Stock Exchange, New York	90
Manufacture on a Small Scale, in the Home, Formerly Prevailed Entirely	100
Manufacture in the Factory, on a Large Scale, Has To-Day Largely Supplanted Manufacture in the Home	101

	PAGE
The Spinning-Room in a Large Cotton-Mill with Power-Machines —the Output is Greatly Increased and the Cost Decreased	102
Specialization in Furniture-Making	107
This Man, in the Automobile Industry, is Employed to Test the Motor with a Stethoscope for Flaws	109
Cleveland is One of the Centres of the Steel Industry	120
Taking Iron Ore on Boats at Duluth	122
Freight-Car Containers Are Now Used in Transportation Which May Be Lifted from the Car Frame and Loaded on Trucks for Their Destination	126
The Wireless-Room on a Large Ocean Liner Which also Carries a Complete Radio Outfit	127
A Class in Study of Soil in One of Our Northwestern Agricultural Colleges	136
Experimenting with Corn in the Laboratory of an Agricultural College	137
A Logging Train in an Oregon Forest	139
Safety Device for the Machine Worker which Prevents Many Accidents	146
Child Labor is a Great Waste of Human Resources	148
Scientists of the U. S. Department of Agriculture Investigating Digestibility of Foods by Means of an "Artificial Stomach"	156
Government Inspection of a Bakery	157
Testing the Strength of Yarn at the U. S. Bureau of Standards	163
Government Inspection of Meat in a Large Packing Plant	198
Circular Track Maintained by the Bureau of Public Roads for Testing Different Types of Concrete Roads	200
Interior of the Plate Room of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing	202
This Train Was Sent Out by One of Our Universities to Instruct Farmers on Proper Cultivation of Soil	204
Airplane Mail	205

ILLUSTRATIONS

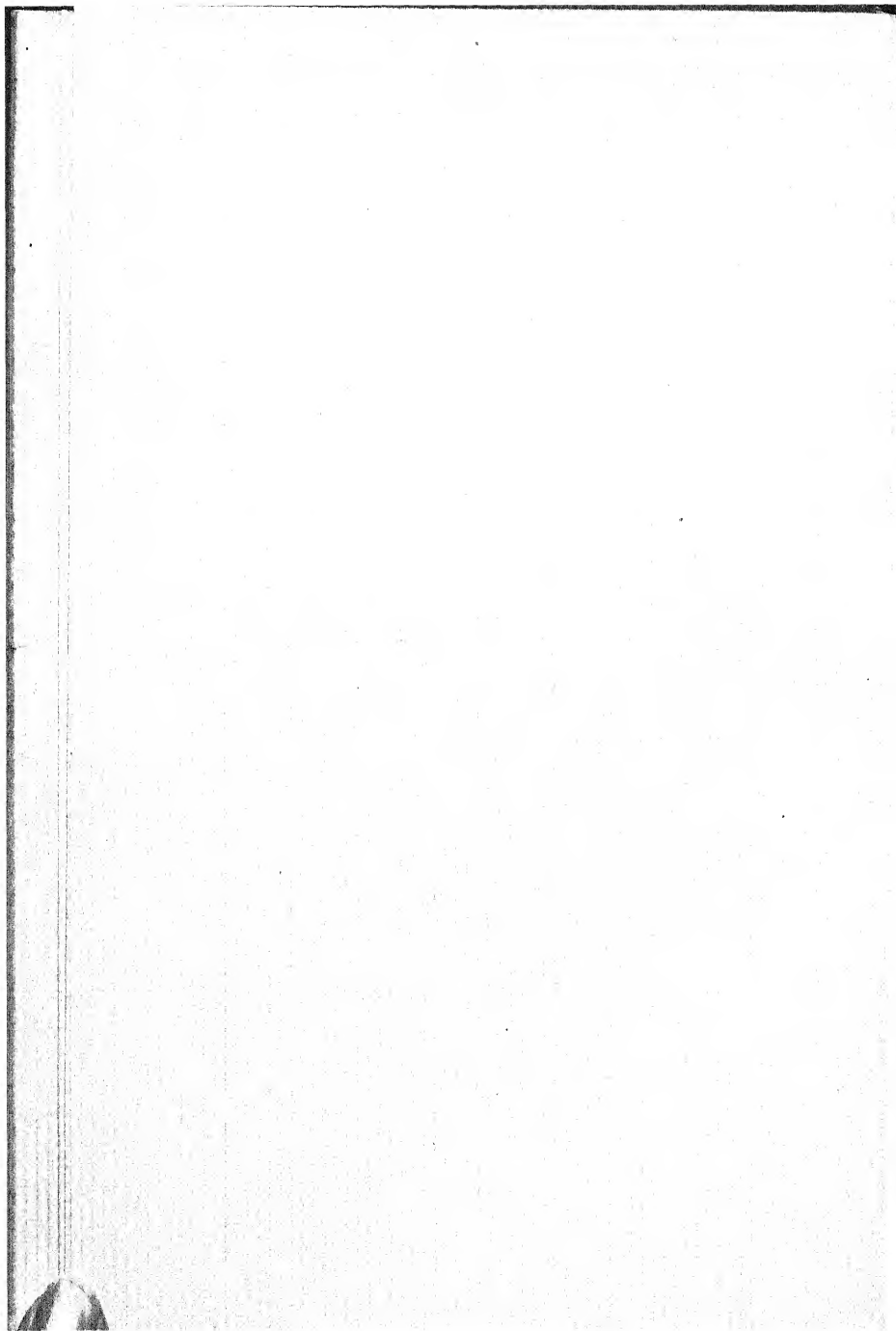
xvii

Interior of a Polling Place	PAGE 222
Through Naturalization Great Numbers Are Added to the Citizenship of the United States Every Year	225
President Harding and His Cabinet	236
A State Legislature in Joint Session	249
The High Level Bridge and Part of the Industrial District at Cleveland, Ohio	255
New Citizens Studying the Ballot Before Voting at the Polls	265



PART I

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE NEW
CITIZENSHIP



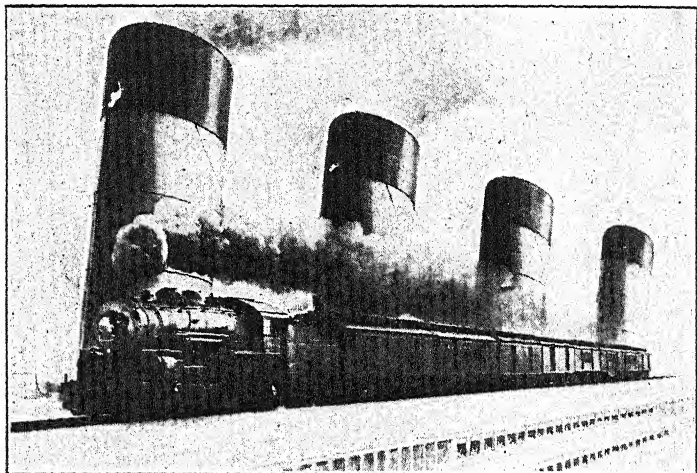
CHAPTER I

THE NEW WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE

SECTION I — COMPARING THE OLD WITH THE NEW

An Example of the Old Way — the Self-Way. — It is not difficult to imagine a solitary man, in prehistoric time, standing upon the shores of western Europe. He looks into the west and wonders what mysteries lie beyond the horizon which his vision cannot penetrate. He has never ventured upon the open sea. He owns a boat, to be sure, made with his own hands, which serves him well upon inland waters. The boat is strong and trustworthy, and not too small even to ride upon the sea. So one day this adventurer loads his boat with supplies and boldly pursues a westward course into the open sea. He hopes that by chance he may find another land before his supplies give out. With high hopes he keeps his westward course. But days pass without a trace of land; his store of food becomes low; his strength wanes, and even hope dies out. When one day the sea grew rough and the boat rapidly began to fill with water, this hardy sailor was compelled very soon to acknowledge defeat in his lonely effort. We well know that unless men had since found more effective ways of travelling the seas than had this primitive man, America would never have been discovered.

An Example of the New Way — the Group-Way. —
What of the methods by which men travel the seas to-day?
From the same shores whence the lone sailor set forth a
mammoth ocean liner now departs, carrying thousands of



A MODERN STEAMSHIP, THE "AQUITANIA," COMPARED IN SIZE WITH A
MODERN LIMITED TRAIN.

The distance from first to last stack is 668 feet.

people surrounded by every comfort. A signal from the captain on the bridge sets in motion powerful turbines which drive the huge boat at an incredible speed. The passengers have no need of concern for their safety; they have comfortable rooms for rest, pleasant forms of recreation, sumptuous meals, every comfort which can be supplied. In a week, or even less, that vessel will steam into New York harbor, its passengers unacquainted with hardships or even discomfort. What a difference between this way and the primitive or self-way!

How Men Lived in the Self-Way. — Men who take a part in the plan of living which drives ships across the Atlantic Ocean in less than a week's time must become trained to meet the demands of an entirely different kind of life from that of the lone sailor. As a matter of fact, there were some advantages in living in the self-way; not many advantages, to be sure, but some. The self-way permitted a man to live without regard for others; no amount of selfishness on his part could cause harm to others. He was wholly independent. At the same time, he was but little removed from starvation, and the slightest misfortune was likely to prove his undoing.

How Men Must Live in the Group-Way. — The group-way of living is different. In it the captain of the ship must have at his disposal the muscle-power of every stoker in the hold; the stoker in the hold must have the aid of the skill and judgment and calm courage of the captain. Driving the great ship requires the combined effort of many men working together in much the same fashion as the gears of a complex piece of machinery. The group-way of living cannot permit each man to do his own will at all times — it sternly requires each man to perform his obligations at stated times and places. On the other hand, the group-way makes possible the comforts not only of the steamship but also of the Pullman car, artificial gas, running water in each home, and many other comforts which we enjoy to-day. The comforts and luxuries which we have in such abundance in this age are all made possible because men have learned to live in the group-way.

PROBLEMS—SECTION I

1. What were some of the advantages in living as the lone sailor described above? What were the great disadvantages?
2. Write a brief story of your own, similar to the one above, which will bring out the contrast between the self-way and the group-way of living.
3. What is meant by the expression "men working together in much the same fashion as the gears of a complex piece of machinery"?
4. Name some comforts, other than those mentioned above, which result from doing things in the group-way.

SECTION II — WHAT BROUGHT THE CHANGES

The Sciences Which Contributed to the Change. — The description you have read of the change from primitive to modern means of navigation seems, perhaps, exaggerated. Nevertheless, just such a change in every condition of living and working has come with stunning suddenness upon the whole civilized world. A hundred years ago — even less than that — men lived in comparative independence. Each family had its food-supply in the garden and the smoke-house. To-day the organization of workers by which food comes to our door is far more intricate than that of the organization which runs a steamship. It must be understood what is meant when we say this change in living conditions came *suddenly*. In the past hundred years greater changes have taken place in the conditions of living than in the previous thousand years. If one lists the discoveries and inventions which brought about the great changes in living that occurred between the years 1000 and 1800, and then lists in parallel columns the discoveries and inventions of the period from 1800 to the

present, it soon becomes evident how suddenly the new way of living has come upon us. The sciences — physics, chemistry, mechanics, meteorology, navigation — have contributed singly and collectively their great share to this rapid progress. Nothing, however, contributed more toward our present comforts than the development of the art and science of co-operation. A knowledge of the means of co-operation makes it possible for great numbers of people to unite their efforts and skill to bring about the accomplishment of a common purpose. The method of the lone sailor was to work alone — to be independent — to accomplish what he could lone-handed. The method of to-day is to work with others for a common cause — to be *dependent upon others* — and thereby secure the greater benefits which come from united effort.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. Rule a sheet of paper in two columns. Make the heading of the left-hand column "Important Inventions and Discoveries from 1000 to 1800." Make the heading of the right-hand column "Important Inventions from 1800 to the Present." With the use of the encyclopædia, histories, etc., make lists of inventions in each column as complete as you can. Use your judgment as to whether the invention you list is important.
2. Be able to give one illustration of the way in which the science of physics has helped the world; chemistry; navigation; the science of co-operation.
3. Give five illustrations, of which you know, in which great numbers of people unite their efforts to bring about the accomplishment of a *common purpose*. Be sure that you understand the meaning of the term "common purpose."
4. From what you have read so far, what was the price which the lone sailor paid for his independence? Was it great or small?

SECTION III — NEW PROBLEMS WHICH CAME WITH THE CHANGE

Could the Lone Sailor Understand the Group-Way? — Were it possible to imagine the primitive adventurer with whom we began this chapter suddenly placed upon the deck of a modern steamship, everything would appear to him but a "buzzing confusion." His childlike mind would not grasp the meaning of the things he saw. The delicate instruments which record every detail of the ship's movement would mean nothing to him. It would be equally as difficult for him to understand how it is possible for a crew of 2,000 men all to work together, each having a little part in making a voyage safe and sure and comfortable. It would be impossible for him to understand the mechanism of the boat itself, and just as difficult for him to understand the mechanism of the organization of people which makes the ship's movements possible.

Could the Lone Sailor Become Accustomed to the Group-Way? — There is some question as to whether this primitive sailor would like the life of the modern steamship. He might object to the seeming limits upon liberty which the new method of living demands. He would enjoy the luxury and comfort of the great boat, but he might chafe under the commands of superior officers who expect every duty to be performed with exactness. It would not be surprising if at times he would long for the old life of independence. Nothing but the memory of its hardships and insecurity would make him willing to keep

on with the exacting requirements of the *group-way*. And yet, it might be possible, after a time, for him to find pleasure in adjusting himself to the *group-way*; there might be some satisfaction in learning to direct his energies so that they would have a part in a greater achievement than if he worked alone.

Can We Become Accustomed to the Group-Way? —

And so it is with us to-day; there are many things about this new world in which we live that are so complicated that we can scarce understand their meaning. We feel sometimes that our liberties are much restricted. Yet we are each enjoying comforts which kings of an earlier day could not have. There surely is some way by which we can understand this new way of living and thus make it thoroughly enjoyable.

Can Freedom and Dependence Go Together? —

But while many things have taken place in the century just past to make people more dependent upon one another, at the same time events have transpired which give to all greater power to determine the course of their own lives. Once the rules which regulated the acts of the people were given by selfish kings; now the rules which regulate the acts of a group are made by the people themselves. People have become citizens, not subjects. When considered with the paragraph above, this presents a rather interesting situation. People find themselves drawn into a complicated scheme of living which they little understand; at the same time the course of events has put control of that

complicated scheme into their own hands. It is a situation which cannot be met unless each person in this new society will seriously devote himself to a careful study of the problems and conditions of living in the *group-way*.

These, then, are the two phases of the responsibilities of the citizen in this new world: first, to *understand* the new *laws and principles of living* which the group-way demands; second, to learn how to apply those laws to make *group life* contribute to the welfare and even greater freedom of every person in the group.

Can Citizens Perform the Duties of Kings? — The very fact that citizenship is taught in the public schools implies that those who study it have a real part in public affairs. In a country ruled by a king, there is no need of teaching the people the facts of public life; in such a country, to know and to solve the problems of his nation is the king's business, and his alone. A European monarch of the eighteenth century well stated the duties of a king of that day thus: "These services (of a king) consist in the maintenance of the laws, a strict execution of justice, an employment of his whole powers to prevent any corruption of manners, and defending the State against its enemies. It is the duty of this magistrate to pay attention to agriculture, it should be his care that provisions for the nation should be in abundance and that commerce and industry should be encouraged. He is a perpetual sentinel who must watch the acts and the conduct of the enemies of the State. He ought to procure *exact* and circumstantial information of the strength and weakness of his country, as

well relative to pecuniary resources as to population, finance, trade, laws, and the genius of the nation which he is appointed to govern."

If those were the duties of the king when the king ruled, those are the duties of the people when the people rule. The knowledge that once was the concern of kings and princes is now the concern of every boy and girl in the land.

Can Citizen Government Be Good Government? — The new world requires of the citizen a broader knowledge than has ever been necessary before. It was once easy for men to understand their surroundings. They could see and understand all that was going on about them. To-day food-supply depends on railroads, railroads upon banks, banks upon savings, savings upon good government. There are many complex things about this new life of which we need to learn. Control of affairs by the people, either of a ship or of a state, will be bad if it is controlled by ignorant people. Control by the people will be good if it is controlled by intelligent, thinking people.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Do you think it possible that the lone sailor would not like the life on a modern steamship? What are the things about it which he might especially dislike?
2. Do you know people in your neighborhood who dislike the same things about modern life which the lone sailor disliked about a steamship?
3. Have you ever known a boy who was a good athlete who was known as an "individual" player? How is he generally rated?

4. Mention three ways in which people have greater power over the course of their own lives than those of a century ago.

5. What is the difference between a *subject* and a *citizen*? Which are you? Prove it.

6. Are there advantages in being a subject? If so, what?

7. Are there advantages in being a citizen? If so, what?

8. Could one be a good subject and still be wholly ignorant? Is the same true of being a citizen? Explain your answer in each case.

9. Which is the easier position in an army for which to prepare — private or officer? Why?

10. Is it necessary for all privates to know the map of a country before a battle? Why?

11. If the plan of attack of an army would only be made after a vote of the privates, would it then be necessary for all to know the country thoroughly?

12. Why was civics once a study of importance to princes only? Why is it now a study of importance to you?

CHAPTER II

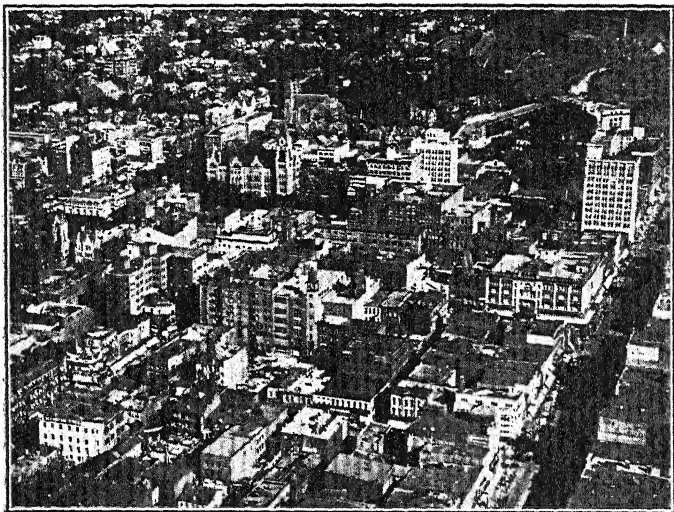
ANALYZING OUR COMMUNITY LIFE

The world's work is now done by individuals working in groups. This chapter treats of the various classes of groups in which a citizen may participate. We often hear people speak of the responsibility of an individual to his community. This responsibility, we find, resolves itself into the duty of doing one's part in particular group *activities* within the community. It should be understood that the word "community" means any body of people within a given area having common interests; therefore, a community may be a city, a state, a nation. Civics is a study of group organization and life of a community. It studies the *purpose of various group organizations*, their relation to each other, their methods of operation, their services to the community at large. The study should prepare each pupil to work in any community to greater advantage to himself and his associates. A knowledge of the principles of group living is of the same importance to a citizen as a knowledge of the rules of the game is to a football-player.

SECTION I — A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES

Family — School — Work. — No matter how broad may be the interests of a citizen, he does not live so much as a citizen of a whole nation as he does a citizen of a local community. His contribution to the nation's welfare lies

much more in doing his duty to his neighborhood in its group life than in trying to spread his activities over a larger area. If one could get a bird's-eye view of the movements of our people, it would appear that they were



AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE BUSINESS SECTION OF ONE OF OUR CITIES.

collecting in little *knots*; each *knot* representing certain *common interests* which give rise to group life and associations. In some parts of the land but few people would be seen. Certain localities would appear to be sparsely populated; certain areas, on the other hand, would seem to be seething with activity. We would at once recognize these *knots* of population as towns and cities. A closer view would show within these towns smaller groups — families of four or five living together under one roof. They would be seen gathering together at night, eating at a

common table, living together in a very intimate and helpful way. When morning comes, that group breaks up. Younger members join themselves with many others of their age — and all day associate in a larger group — a school. Older members of the family group with others in factories, stores, etc., in the task of securing food, making clothing, moving certain products from one place to another. Already we have seen three classes of group associations in which people work with others — *home* groups, *school* groups, *industrial* groups.

Recreation and Worship. — But we shall see that there are other forms of association which these people have. At certain times they gather with others for no other purpose, seemingly, than the pleasure of being with others; they sing, dance, play games, or listen to entertaining performances by others. At other times they gather together in especially constructed buildings, where they devoutly join in songs and prayers. We here recognize two other classes of groups — *recreational* or *social* groups, and *religious* or *worship* groups.

Government. — But in all these five classes of association already named there is a remarkable degree of order and understanding. These people go and come without interference from others. It appears that certain ones are appointed to protect the others — to see that lives are safe, that property is secure. The schools to which the children go in the day are supported and shared alike by all those in the community. They have built streets and

use them in common; they have parks that they own and enjoy in common. Their weak and unfortunate and criminal are cared for by institutions that they own and support in common. They are seen to go from one town and city to another with perfect freedom. The inhabitants of one community appear to have a working agreement with the inhabitants of another community by which they exchange goods readily and to great advantage. There are many ways in which the people of a community and of the country at large work in common; many ways in which the various communities form a group which works in common for the good of all. This last type of group activity is *government*.

We have, then, six kinds of group work in which each person may take part: *home, education, industry, recreation, worship, government*. Of all six of these is the life of a community made up; without any one, the community life would be incomplete.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. Explain the meaning of the word "analyze." How does the meaning differ from that of the word "criticise"? In a study of our community life which should we do first — criticise or analyze?
2. What makes a city a community? a state? a nation? Is it possible to think of the *world* as a community?
3. Analyze your own activities answering the following:
 - (a) Do I do anything absolutely independently of others?
 - (b) What are some of the things which I do with others for a *common purpose*?
 - (c) What are some of the *common interests* which I have with others which prompts my association with and working with them?

SECTION II — WHAT SOME OF THE GROUPS ARE AND WHAT THEY DO

What Are Some of the Groups of Each Class? — There are many kinds of lesser groups in each one of these six classes of group associations. Within the *home* itself there are activities of recreation, of manufacture, of education, and of government. (To what activities in your own home does this sentence refer?) In school groups we shall include all educational institutions, both public and private — kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools, colleges, universities, professional schools, special schools for defectives, libraries, museums, etc.

Recreation groups include clubs, lodges, dances, festivals, celebrations, parties, etc.

Religious groups include "denominations," church organizations, and other religious associations of various types.

Industrial groups include factories, banks, stores, railroad companies, etc.

Government groups include cities, towns, townships, counties, states, nations, and even a league of nations. Within these groups other groups form, creating political parties, political clubs, etc.

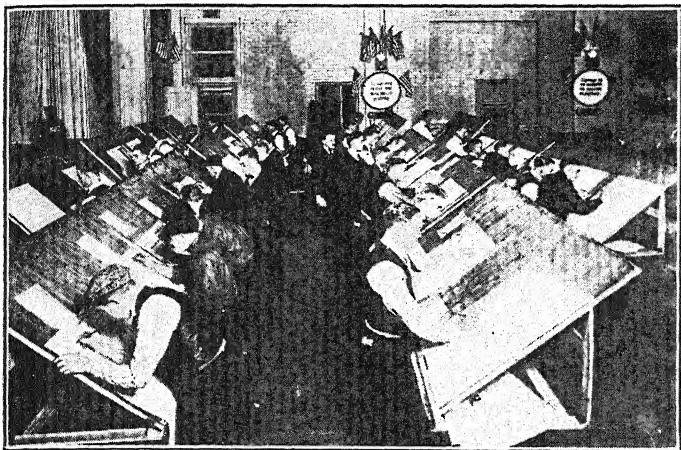
What the Home Groups Do for Us. — Each class of group activity makes a particular kind of contribution to the welfare of the community. Let us begin with the home. In those countries where people have developed a high sense of duty to their family organization, rapid

progress in other lines has resulted. When people work and plan together in the interest of the membership of the family, there is developed a spirit of industry, thrift, responsibility, and reliability which makes them achieve worth-while things in every other field. It is for that reason that men often speak of the home as the foundation institution of the nation. A nation in which home life is wholesome, in which each member of each family knows and fulfils his whole responsibility to every other member of the family, will be a strong nation in every way.

What Educational Groups Do for Us. — It is through educational groups that men perpetuate and add to that knowledge which former generations acquired. The discoveries and inventions and knowledge of natural laws which make possible the things which we have to-day result from the accumulated information of all generations that have gone before, passed on to us. If we would refuse to take this knowledge, the world would return to the conditions of primitive days; if we should fail to add to the fund of knowledge that has been given to us, all progress would cease. It is the responsibility of the education groups to keep alive and pass on the knowledge which other generations have gained, and to add to that knowledge in such a way that this generation may be better than the generation which was before.

What Industrial Groups Do for Us. — Through the *industrial* groups those things are supplied which satisfy the

wants of society for food, clothing, shelter, etc. In order that we may have food, great areas of land must be cultivated, mills must be operated, food products hauled from one part of the country to the other. In order that cloth-



MANY OF OUR INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS MAINTAIN NIGHT SCHOOLS FOR THEIR EMPLOYEES.

ing may be supplied, cotton, wool, hides, rubber, silk, etc., must be gathered from all parts of the world into mills, where they may be made into forms which are useful. For shelter, timber, iron, glass, stone, clay, etc., must be assembled and put into suitable form. Coal must be mined for warmth and for power. Through those groups which work together in our industries all those things which make life comfortable are secured.

What Recreation Groups and Worship Groups Do for Us. — Through *recreation* groups men are enabled to take part in activities which refresh their minds, strengthen

their bodies, and widen their friendships and their other interests. These activities in themselves are worth while and form an important part of wholesome community life.

Through the *religious* groups men find associations by which they are enabled to worship as they wish. The development of religious institutions is an important phase of the life of a community. Through religious organizations the community is enabled better to express itself on questions of right or wrong. Through religious organizations the religious principles of the people are set forth. We know that in America there is what is called "separation of church and state." That means that there is no pressure of government to compel, or even to influence, any one to take a part in the work of any religious organization. It does not follow, however, that in America the people consider religious and moral development as an unimportant element of national strength. In every community there are magnificent edifices where people congregate for study and worship, and where they keep alive their religious ideals.

What Government Groups Do for Us. — But there are some services which neither the groups of home, school, recreation, worship, nor industry can do for a community. Some things can only be accomplished by a larger grouping, which will include all the people of the community. This larger *group* association we call *government*. Through *government* all the people of a city or other community unit can join in doing some types of work that otherwise could not be done. Life must be protected, public thor-

oughfares need to be constructed and maintained. In fact, through government many of the activities of the other five classes of *groups* are made possible or regulated. The rights of the home are protected, schools are maintained and operated, the interests of men in industry are guarded, social activities are made safe, religious freedom is assured. Many things that once were performed by other classes of groups now are being given over to government to perform. Once the family group was the chief agency of protection of life — now that responsibility is in very large measure given over to government. Once education was a family responsibility; now government largely performs that service. The building of bridges was once done by private enterprise; now that service is largely performed by governmental agencies. There are many examples of the increasing services of government. Even recreation has become an interest of government, as is evident from the governmental action in providing parks, playgrounds, public bathing beaches, and many other forms of wholesome recreation.

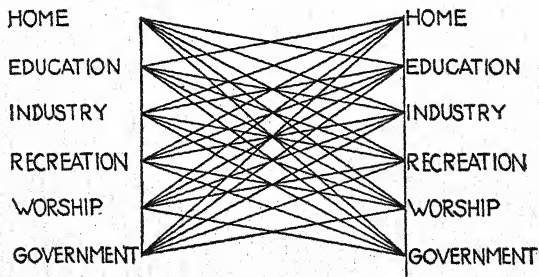
PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. In what various group activities do you take part? What are the definite benefits which you derive from working with these groups?
2. Are the group activities in which your father takes part different from those in which you are interested? Why?
3. Name five religious organizations. What service do they render to society?
4. Name five social organizations in your community. What service do they render to society?
5. Name five industrial organizations in your community. Tell the service which each renders to society.

6. What are the units which comprise the political organization under our form of government in the United States? State one service of each unit.

SECTION III — HOW ONE CLASS OF GROUPS AFFECTS THE OTHERS

How Community Life Is Like a Web. — It remains for us to examine the relation that exists between these various classes of groups of which modern society is constituted. We have already referred to the importance of the home and its part in the development of a strong national life. There is likewise an important relationship between all of the six classes of groups. Home life will vitally affect the educational work of the community; likewise, it will affect its industries, its recreation, its religious life, and its government. Educational organizations will likewise affect the home, industries, recreation, worship, and government. The industrial organization will affect the home, the educational system, worship, recreation, and the government. The government groups will affect the home, the educational groups, industry, recreation, and worship. An attempt is made to illustrate these relationships by a diagram as follows:



Thus we see our "social organization" as a veritable network of complex relations of groups. There is no class of groups which does not affect each individual in his everyday affairs; on the other hand, the acts of each individual affect every group in society. That is why it is so important for each person to know his part in this intricate organization, which has its basis in the *group-way*.

PROBLEMS—SECTION III

1. Are the amusements of people in a community where there are no schools different from the amusements of people who have had educational advantages? Illustrate. Does the educational group affect the social group? If so, how?

2. The Russian people have had more natural resources per capita at their command than the people of any other nation. At least 80 per cent of the people of Russia are illiterate, indicating a lack of schools. The masses in Russia are generally very poor. Do you think the people of Russia have not had schools because they are poor, or are they poor because they have not had schools? Why?

3. Tell two ways in which the industries of your community would be affected should all education be stopped. Do you conclude that the industrial life of the community is dependent on the schools? How are the schools dependent on industry?

4. If the churches of your community should close for a long period of years, how would the price of real estate be affected? What, then, is the relation between industry and the religious organizations in the community?

5. Tell two ways in which the government has acted to control the social life of people in the community. Tell two ways in which it has acted to control industrial life.

SECTION IV — THE BENEFITS THAT COME FROM CO-OPERATION

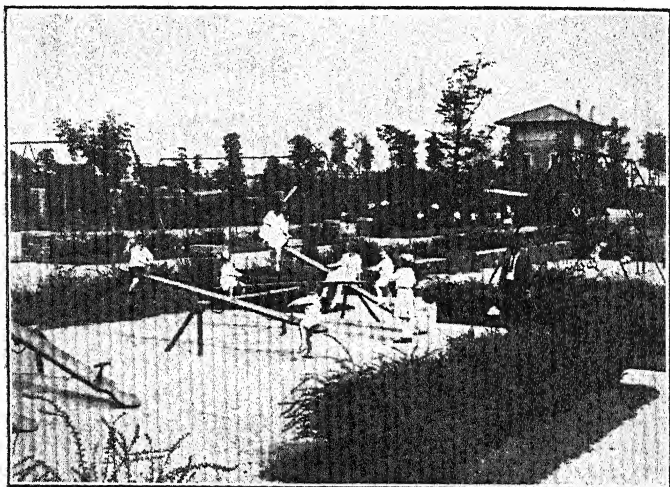
What Co-operation Does for Education. — Perhaps no better example of the benefits of co-operation can be found than those which result from the establishment and maintenance of public schools. Instead of each family's attempting to teach its children, it seems better for the people of the community, by working together, to provide a well-equipped "common" school with teachers that are trained for their work. In America such schools are supported through some form of government, *i. e.*, some form of organization of the people of the whole community. It is scarcely necessary to mention the advantages which come from co-operation in providing the opportunities for education. It is, of course, only by such means that necessary equipment — books, maps, laboratories, and competent teachers — can be secured.

What Co-operation Does in Industry. — Co-operation has been no less beneficial in industry. To take a common example: should a man with a wagon and a team of horses attempt to haul a ton of coal one hundred miles it certainly would cost not less than twenty dollars. By the co-operation of men through a modern railroad system, the transportation cost is not more than one-tenth as much. To sail across the Atlantic in a boat alone, in addition to being extremely perilous, would take weeks and months of privation and hardship. By co-operation a great boat is built and manned, and now we can cross the Atlantic in safety

and luxury, and make the trip in a week. Once each man was compelled to clear his own path through a forest; now through co-operation a system of roads has been built which makes travel from place to place convenient and comfortable. The co-operation of the present day makes it possible to supply our wants in far greater measure than ever before. On our tables are the products of many lands: "tea from China and Japan; coffee from Brazil, Java, and Arabia; cane-sugar from the West Indies and Hawaii; olives from Spain and Italy; rice from China; melons from Egypt and Hawaii; dates from Persia; currants from Greece"; and so we might go on with many other products which we commonly use. By co-operation the wealth of our country has increased many-fold, reflecting itself in comfortable homes, magnificent buildings, luxurious methods of travel, excellent food, and magnificent means of entertainment.

What Co-operation Does in Government. — When we consider government, there is even more evidence of the benefits which have come from co-operation. Once the pioneer relied upon his own weapons for the protection of his life and property. As communities came to be more thickly populated, the waste of such a system of protection became evident, and the duty of protection was turned over to specially designated officers, sheriffs, police, constables, and others. When the transportation facilities of the country developed to such an extent that the food-supply came from every quarter of the globe, it became necessary to set up some mean for insuring its cleanliness

and purity. From that arose a system of inspection of many kinds of foods. There also developed the need for standards of measure—length, volume, value; through government these standards were set. Once the bridges across the streams were constructed by individuals; now,



Copyright, Ewing Galloway.

A PUBLIC PLAYGROUND FOR CHILDREN MAINTAINED BY THE CITY GOVERNMENT.

through government, bridges are built with public funds, and much inconvenience to the public has been avoided. Traffic in cities, moving so rapidly and in such volume, demands control; fire protection is assured; playgrounds and parks are provided; the public health is guarded by experts; streets are paved and thoroughfares lighted by night.

There can be no question but what progress has been made possible only because people have learned to work

together. Had they failed to learn this lesson, each man would still be trying to cross the ocean in a rowboat; carrying water from a spring near by; hewing out a new path for each journey; eating only such food as would grow at his door. The advantages of co-operative living, surely, are many.

PROBLEMS—SECTION IV

1. Even if you should have a good private teacher and all the books and equipment necessary at home, would there still be some advantages in going to school with others? If so, explain.

2. Describe some ways in which the people of a nation co-operate in time of war. Why is co-operation more evident in time of war than in peace?

3. Is there any connection between the work of an engineer on a steamship on the Atlantic and your food-supply? If any, what?

4. Name ten kinds of work that had to be done in order that you might have sugar on your table at home. Was any one kind of work which you mentioned unnecessary?

5. How do you account for the fact that it is so much cheaper to transport a ton of coal one hundred miles by rail than by horse and wagon?

6. Describe the way in which a pioneer protects life and property on the frontier before government is established. Would you like to live under such conditions? Why?

7. Describe some methods of co-operation with others for the protection of health.

CHAPTER III

PRINCIPLES OF EFFECTIVE CO-OPERATION

In the previous chapter some of the benefits which come from co-operation were discussed. That we are better off because of working together is very evident. It is true, however, that sometimes people attempt to work together and make a dismal failure of their efforts. Because of this, it is necessary for us to find out what conditions will make co-operation effective. In this series of lessons we shall discuss some principles which must be observed in order that good results may come from attempts to work together.

Whenever any group of people of their own free will wish to work together for their common good, there are certain important principles which they must observe and respect. We have learned the various classes of group activities in which the people of a community take part; these have been analyzed and classified, and some of their results have been described. This chapter will analyze some of the important *principles* which must be observed in any co-operative group, that the group may accomplish its purpose.

SECTION I — THERE MUST BE LAW

How Does Law Help? — Some people think of law as something which keeps them from doing things which they might wish to do. As a matter of fact, wise law is the

greatest aid that men possibly can have to do the things which they wish to do most. Whenever a number of people are working together, there must be a rule of conduct or procedure which they all can follow. For instance, the law of keeping to the right avoids many collisions in crowded streets. The law of everything in its place makes the home more comfortable. A regular time for opening and closing classes makes school work more effective. All too frequently law is considered a means of restraint rather than as a means of co-operation. Those who look upon law as a means of restraint will, of course, oppose it, and will not hesitate to try to break it; those who see in law an aid to effective co-operation will support it.

The Real Purpose of Law. — A law against murder is not written in order that one man may not kill, but rather that many people may continue to live. The law against stealing is not so much for the purpose of keeping one man from getting something unjustly as it is for the purpose of letting *many* people keep what justly belongs to them. A compulsory school-attendance law does not aim to limit the "liberty" of a boy to do as he wishes with his life — rather, it aims to give greater liberty to many people in a community by freeing them from the burden of caring for those in society who have not become fit to care for themselves. And so we could go on for every reasonable law which we have, and we would find that it *helps* the group.

It is very important that this attitude toward law become established. If, as we have learned, men must work in groups, they will be helping themselves only as the

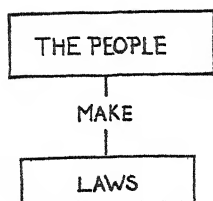
groups are helped. Every boy who plays baseball knows that a game without rules is not a game at all. The boy who would vote against rules in baseball would be voting the game out of existence. The man who is against law in society would be voting group life out of existence, and with it would go all the advantages which have already been discussed.

Two Questions About Law. — All that a wise citizen will ask about a law is this — does the law help the group as a whole? If it does, then he will support it, even at what might appear to be an individual sacrifice. In the end, however, he too will gain; whatever will help the group will, at length, help him.

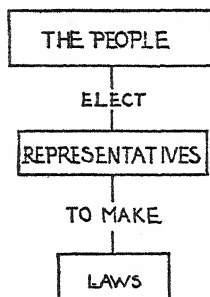
On the other hand, what shall he do in the case of a law which he believes is not helping the group? Shall he disobey? There is but one right course for him to take in such a situation: *obey* the law, but use all just and honest means to get the law abolished by the established method. A group cannot permit any man or a small group of men to decide which laws shall be obeyed. The group must decide that; and so long as the law stands, the group, for the sake of its life, must see that the law is obeyed.

The Service of a Constitution in Making Laws for the Group. — When lawmaking rests with the members of the group it is necessary to have a definite agreement on the part of members of a group as to the method by which law shall be made and enforced. Such an agreement is usually stated in a *constitution*. The purpose of a consti-

tution is not to state particular rules of conduct for the group, but to state the method by which rules and laws shall be made, how enforced, etc. For example, a law against stealing would not be found in the constitution of a state. One would find in the constitution only the



IN A PURE DEMOCRACY.



IN A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY,
OR REPUBLIC.

method by which the state could pass such a law. The laws are found in separate documents called the *statutes*.

The Difference Between a Pure Democracy and a Republic. — A law may be proposed and voted upon by the people *directly*. That was the method employed in the New England towns in an early day. Such a system of lawmaking is used in a *pure democracy*.

The other method provides for the people to choose certain ones from the group who, because of their training or experience, are especially qualified to make the laws. Such a method of lawmaking is used in a *republic*. Those who are chosen to make the laws are called representatives. They are so named because they represent the people

in making the laws. This latter plan is the one more widely used. It is the method of lawmaking used by the states, cities, national government, business organizations, churches, clubs, and schools. We may represent the two methods of lawmaking as shown on page 31. By either of the latter methods the law that is passed represents an expression of the will of the people.

Is the Will of the Majority the Will of the People? —
What is the "will of the people"? In order to know this an *election* is held in which each qualified member of the group is permitted to cast his vote — thus expressing *his will*. It is seldom possible in any group to get all to vote alike upon a question. If groups would make decisions only after a unanimous vote, they could accomplish but little. The most satisfactory plan that has been found is to have groups make their decisions either according to the will of the *majority* or the will of the *plurality*. The difference is this: in the case of an election with two candidates for an office the one receiving the greater number of votes would necessarily have received more than half the vote cast; *i. e.*, a *majority*. In the case of three candidates, the one receiving the largest number of votes is usually declared elected, even though that number be less than half the number of votes cast. Such a number is a *plurality*.

Why Is It So Important to Let the Majority Rule? —
One of the important duties of a member of any group is to abide by the group *will* as expressed by a *majority* or

a *plurality*, as any other attitude on the part of a minority in a group means *civil war* and the ultimate destruction of the group. The first and perhaps most difficult lesson that backward peoples have to learn in their advance toward self-government is to accept the will of the majority in the interest of the life of the group. Groups that do not learn that lesson break up; nations which never learn that lesson, never govern themselves. Nations which have learned the lesson and forget it, often return to subjection.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. Which of the following statements are correct?
 - (a) A law is passed against stealing so that I may not take the property of another.
 - (b) A law is passed against stealing so that my property may be secure.
 - (c) A quarantine is for the purpose of keeping me in the house when I have a contagious disease.
 - (d) A quarantine is for the purpose of making it safer for every one to go about while there is contagious disease in the community.
2. After making a decision as to the true purpose of the laws given above, state the true purpose of three of the rules which prevail in your school, either written or unwritten.
3. Give an example of the way in which law helps us in school; in shops; in the home; on the street.
4. Should a law or rule be abolished just because it causes some inconvenience? When should a law be abolished?
5. Is liberty possible without law? Why? Is liberty lessened by lawbreakers? Why?
6. Does the man who continually evades or breaks the law have greater liberty than the one who is faithful in obeying it? Explain and illustrate.
7. Be able to explain the purpose which a constitution serves for an organized group.

8. Which method of making laws do you believe best for a group — the direct method or the indirect (representative) method?

9. In an election 8,000 votes were cast for three candidates. A received 3,500; B, 2,500; C, 2,000. A was declared elected because he received a *plurality*. What are the advantages of the *plurality* method? What are the objections to it?

10. Find examples of groups (clubs, societies, nations, etc.) which have broken up because the members did not recognize the importance of respecting the will of the majority.

SECTION II — THE WELFARE OF THE GROUP MUST BE REGARDED AS OF GREATER IMPORTANCE THAN THE WELFARE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Eminent Domain as an Example. — This is a hard principle of co-operative living to learn and practise. It is not easy to lay aside one's personal interest for the interest of the group. As an example, a man who had a beautiful country home learned that an interurban railway was to be built past his door. He knew that it would destroy the beauty of his lawn, and even thought it would endanger the lives of his children. Had he been allowed to have his way, the railroad would not have been built, and the community would have lost the benefits of a great public convenience. In that case the state saw that the welfare of many would prevail over the wish of one. The state through law compelled the owner to sell "right of way" to the railroad company, *for the common good*. This power of the state to take private property for public use is known as "*eminent domain*." We find the application of the principle of eminent domain necessary in many ways in our modern life. While the principle is considered as applying to control of property, we apply the

same principle or idea to the control of life itself. In time of war those who are able-bodied and of military age are required to respond to the draft, and if necessary to give their lives for the common welfare.

The Importance of the Principle in the Future. — As communities become more densely populated, the observance of this principle becomes increasingly important. Many more occasions arise for the practice of the principle in cities than in the country; many more occasions arise for its use in 1920, when the population is over 100,000,000, than in 1820, when there were only 9,000,000 people living in the United States. The pupil in the crowded city high school finds himself called upon to practise the principles back of "eminent domain" more frequently than does his cousin in a rural school, where the numbers are small. And while pupils in school must conform to that principle, their elders in the community find themselves confronted with problems involving the same ideas in limiting of height of buildings in certain areas of a city, in zoning ordinances, building specifications in the interest of fire protection, location of gasoline stations and garages in residence districts, etc. It is a condition which we must accept and support if we wish to continue to do things in the group way.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. Find out about several cases in which the principle of "eminent domain" has been applied in your community.
2. Point out the similarity of principle between eminent domain and the "draft" in the late war.

3. Can you point to anything which we generally consider as "right" which is detrimental to a community? Can you point to anything which we generally consider as "wrong" which is *not* detrimental to the community?

4. Give circumstances which arise in which the welfare of your school must be regarded as of greater importance than the welfare of an individual.

5. Why is "playing to the grand stand" so unpopular in athletics?

SECTION III — IN ORDER THAT PEOPLE MAY EFFECTIVELY WORK TOGETHER, IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE GROUP BE ORGANIZED

What Is Organization? — To be *organized* means that each person shall do a certain part of the group's work according to his ability. If it be a baseball-team, that one may pitch, another play first base — whichever he can do best. When every man is placed according to his ability and plays his position well, a good ball-team is the result. The same principle applies to every other kind of work which men try to accomplish together. In industry some men farm, some run railroad-trains, some keep stores. In a factory one man cuts gears well, while another is expert in drawing plans. The special jobs of the world demand special abilities. The value of a man to a group, be it school, factory, or government, is determined very much by whether he is working at the task best adapted to his skill and interest.

The Advantage of Finding One's Place. — For this reason it is most important that each person find that work in his community which he can do best. The pupil in

high school who has before him the choice of a number of elective subjects owes it to his community to choose those which will help him most. Finding one's occupation is not only important for individual success but for the welfare



A GOOD BALL-TEAM IS THE RESULT OF EVERY MAN BEING PLACED ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITY AND PLAYING HIS POSITION WELL.

of the community. A pupil is further responsible as a citizen for learning all that he can about the work which the world has to do; he may be able thus to understand better the problems which people in various kinds of work have to solve.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. What are the conditions necessary that a group may be called *organized*?
2. What is meant by the expression "he is the brains of the or-

ganization"? What was referred to in the expression "the eyes of the army"?

3. Would it be possible for groups to work together if all persons wished to do the same tasks?

4. Will a boy add to his chances of success by trying for the position on an athletic team which he can play best? Is the same thing true of the choice of an occupation?

SECTION IV—NO EFFECTIVE GROUP WORK IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT COMPETENT LEADERSHIP

The Service of Leadership.—"Leadership does not mean giving orders so much as it means giving signals for co-operation." In order that a group may accomplish any work, signals are necessary. The success of any group effort depends much upon wise leadership. Football, army life, business firms—offer good examples of this. It is the duty of the leader to place people in the organization according to their abilities; to fix the regulations under which each one in the organization may work. Successful group effort depends very much upon a wise leader, but it depends just as much upon *willingness* of all members of the group to respect and obey its leader. Men are taught in the army to salute their superior officers, not as a person, but because the officer represents an important factor in the army's success. An army in which men would not obey the officer's commands would have no chance against an army in which men would obey. Citizens must learn that obedience to leadership in any organization does not lessen liberty. Leadership in every group activity must be respected and obeyed, because only thus can the benefits of group life be realized and greater liberty secured.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. Can you suggest any way by which a group could do any work without a leader?
2. Why is it such a serious matter when men mutiny on board a ship?
3. Sometimes we hear a person spoken of as a *born leader*. What qualities of character do *born leaders* generally possess?
4. Is group success just as dependent upon "good followers" as "good leaders"?
5. What activities in school give a pupil a chance to develop into a leader? A follower?
6. Do you know any one whose work is such that he always can command and never has to obey? Discuss your answer with the class.

SECTION V — EVERY CITIZEN SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE
VALUE OF THE SERVICE OF THOSE GROUPS TO WHICH
HE BELONGS AND BE WILLING TO WORK EARNESTLY
AND LOYALLY FOR THEIR SUCCESS

Doing One's Bit. — It is a true saying that "What is every one's business is no one's business." Because one finds himself merely a little part of a great organization with others, he sometimes loses a sense of responsibility for doing even his own part. But this plan of group living which we have accepted demands that every one may "do his bit." There is *no cog* in any complex machine that does not have an important work to do. It is the duty of every citizen to find out exactly what those groups to which he belongs are trying to accomplish, and then to find out how best he can do his part in helping to carry through their work. This duty should be fulfilled equally well in home, school, industry, church, recreation, and gov-

ernment. When men and women, boys and girls, will have learned to do this, then we shall have reason to hope for even greater benefits from living in the group-way.

PROBLEMS — SECTION V

1. Write down the purpose and the service of every group to which you belong. Show why you believe every one is worth supporting.
2. Can you state any particular contribution which you have made to the success of any group to which you belong?
3. Why is "*treason*" regarded as the "*most heinous crime*?"
4. Give an example which you know of in which one has shown outstanding "*loyalty*" to his home; his school; his business firm; his nation.

CHAPTER IV

CO-OPERATION AND THE SCHOOL

No class of citizens derives greater benefit from group efforts than the boys and girls in the public schools. The lessons thus far have discussed some of the general facts concerning the organization of community life and important principles which need to be practised by all members of groups. In this chapter we shall study two phases of the co-operation which provides public schools: (1) the methods by which the adults of a community establish and maintain its schools; (2) the methods of co-operation which the pupil citizens establish within the school in order that the school may accomplish its purpose. The best place for boys and girls to take part in public affairs is in the group which means most to them — the school. The pupils of the public schools, as an important element of the citizenship of the community, should understand how the practice of those principles stated in the preceding chapter makes possible their opportunities for education.

SECTION I — HOW THE MONEY FOR SCHOOLS IS SECURED

Why Does an Adult Spend Money for Schools? — The pupils of the public schools could not, of themselves, provide means for the support of schools. Public schools are possible only because the adults in the community are willing to provide them. The benefit which the adults them-

selves derive from public education is indirect; consequently, we must consider that the motive in thus spending their wealth is quite an unselfish one. It is a remarkable testimonial to the generous and far-sighted spirit of American citizens that it is a rare community in which the adults do not gladly give of their wealth for the benefit of the younger generation. It is the practical way of saying: "He who thinks not of himself primarily, but of his race, and of its future, is the new patriot."

How Schools Might Be Financed — The Objection. —

Let us study two plans by which a community might provide schools for its children. Imagine a simple method first. Suppose we have a community of 20 families in which there is a total of 50 children of school age. Assume that it would cost \$5,000 to provide school for the 50 children for a school year. The simple method of providing the money would be to charge \$100 per year for each pupil. But with such a plan the opportunities for education would be very unequal. A wealthy man in the community with but one child in school would, of course, be charged but \$100 — which he could easily pay. The man of limited means with four children in school would be charged \$400 — which he likely could not pay.

American communities have taken the attitude that there should be equality of opportunity for all children. Consequently the adult citizens are *charged* or *assessed* for the support of education on the basis of their *ability to pay* rather than upon the basis of any *direct benefits* which they may receive. As a result, a man is charged for the

support of schools in proportion to the amount of property which he possesses, and not in proportion to the number of children he has in school.

How Schools Are Financed — The Advantage. — Now let us again imagine the community of 20 families having 50 children of school age. In the new plan the amount of property which each family owns would have to be valued. It happens that 5 families have no property at all. Ten families have \$3,000 each, 4 families have \$10,000 each, and 1 family has alone \$30,000. There was found to exist in the community \$100,000 worth of property. If the cost of maintaining schools for a year is still \$5,000, the cost will be apportioned as follows: The 5 families with no property will not be charged at all; the 10 families with \$3,000 each will pay \$150 each; the 4 families with \$10,000 each will pay \$500 each; the 1 family with \$30,000 of wealth will pay \$1,500. By this *plan of taxation* all children in the community receive an equal chance.

The Four Tasks in Providing Money for Schools. — As a result of the adoption of this plan, we find the following four tasks which have to be performed for securing the money with which to run public schools:

(1) The school *needs of the community* must be determined and the cost of meeting those needs must be calculated.

(2) The value of the property belonging to each person in the community must be determined. This process is called *assessment*.

(3) With the cost of schools computed, and the amount of the property in the community known, the amount to be charged to each dollar's worth of property (or each one hundred dollars' worth of property) must be calculated. This is called "fixing the *levy*."

(4) The amount due from each property-holder must be calculated and charged against him. The amount charged must then be collected.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. What do you believe is the reason why adults, who themselves have no further need for schools, are willing to spend their money to maintain schools?

2. One of the essential conditions of a democracy is *equality of opportunity*. Of the two plans of providing money for schools described above, which do you consider the more democratic?

3. According to either of the two plans described above, a man's ability to pay for the support of schools was measured by the value of the property he owns. Can you think of any other way by which you might measure a man's ability to pay money for the support of schools?

SECTION II — HOW THE SCHOOL NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY ARE DETERMINED; HOW SCHOOLS ARE MANAGED

Who Represents the People in Directing the Schools? —

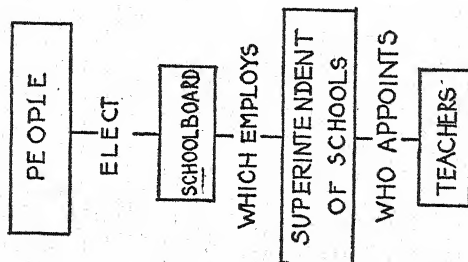
The people of a community find that in order to run successfully any activity for the common welfare it is necessary to choose certain ones in the community who shall be charged with the responsibility of carrying on that work in the interest of the public. As a consequence, the management of schools is generally delegated to a person or persons, chosen in a manner agreed upon by the

people of the community. In many cases the plan provides for choosing a Board of School Commissioners, sometimes known as a Board of School Trustees. In rural communities, however, the general management of township schools may be in the hands of a *township trustee*, who administers the affairs of the schools along with the other affairs of the township. There are a great variety of methods by which the people choose those who are to control their public schools. There is, of course, a certain degree of merit in every plan which is in use. It is important, however, that any plan which the people may adopt is such that it will insure the operation of schools with only the interest of the whole community in mind.

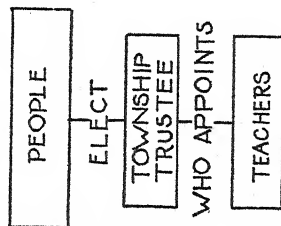
The responsibility of providing for the school needs is delegated *thus* to a *board*, or an official. These persons have power to decide how long school shall be operated each year, to make provision for building and equipment, to employ teachers, to determine what subjects shall be taught within the schools. All of the school policies of the community need to be formulated and carried out by them.

We can now consider several plans of school operation which may be represented as shown on page 44.

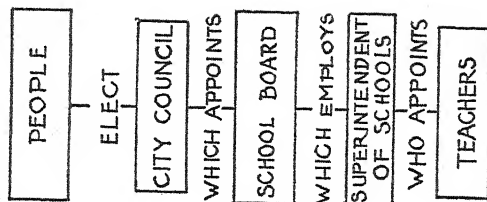
How a School Organization Is Created.— It will be recognized that the development of such plans as these requires the observance of all of the principles stated in Chapter III. The class and the teacher will readily find specific instances of how each principle applies to the problems of the local community. It is seen that it is the duty of the elected representatives of the people, acting upon the



HOW ONE CITY DOES.

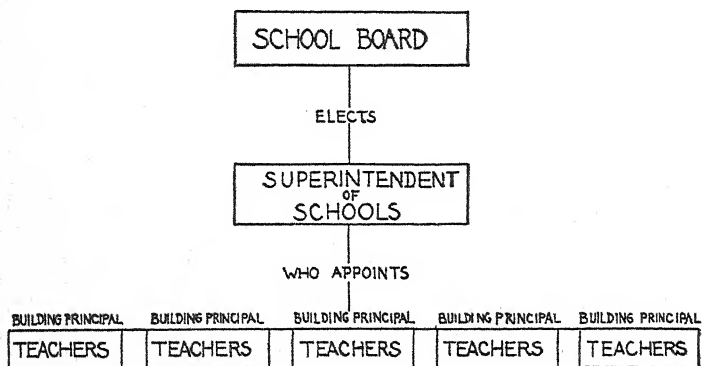


HOW A RURAL COMMUNITY DOES.



HOW ANOTHER CITY DOES.

advice of those whom they employ, to determine the school needs of the community and to estimate the cost. This requires that a number of qualified people be employed to aid the representatives of the people in maintaining the schools. At this point it is of interest for the pupil to learn the further organization of the school system. As an example, a city may have a school organization which may be represented by the diagram which follows:



Pupils, with the aid of the teacher, should diagram the plan of administration of their own schools, thus fixing in mind the relations of the various members of the school organization.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. What is the name of the official or board of officials in your community which is chosen to manage the schools? How are they *chosen*? What other methods of choosing them *might* be adopted?
2. What are some of the problems which these officials have to solve in your community? Could all the decisions which they have to make be made by vote of all the people? Why?

3. From information supplied to you by your teacher, and following the suggestions of the diagrams given in this section, draw a chart which will show the plan by which the schools of your community are managed and directed.

4. What principles of Chapter III are in operation in providing school opportunities for you?

SECTION III — HOW THE PROPERTY OF THE COMMUNITY IS VALUED

Who Values the Property? — We have already learned that the schools are maintained by charging their cost to the property holders — each one paying in proportion to the amount of property which he owns. It therefore becomes necessary for the value of all the property in the community to be determined. When a Board of School Commissioners needs to know the value of the property of the community, it finds that it has already been determined by an assessor. The assessor is, in many States, a township officer. The township has many projects which must be paid for in the same way as the schools. There may be an officer known as county assessor whose duty it is to supervise and standardize the work of all township assessors in his county, but the actual valuation of property for taxation is done by the *local* officer. His position is a very responsible and difficult one.

The assessor finds in his community two kinds of property: first, real estate, which may generally be considered to consist of *things immovable* — *houses and lands*; second, personal property, which may generally be considered to consist of *things that are movable*, such as books, watches, money, bonds, stocks, etc. The assessor determines the

amount of such property owned by each person in the community, and reports it for taxation. One will appreciate the problems of an assessor if he will try to set a value for himself upon some articles which he owns, were he to offer them for sale. In that case, however, the price named would be the highest figure at which one could hope to sell. We recognize, however, that a price thus set might not represent the value of the article at all. Valuing property for taxation is one of the most difficult tasks of government officers.

PROBLEMS—SECTION III

1. What official in your community determines the value which shall be placed upon property for taxation? How is he chosen?
2. Get a copy of the "forms" used by the assessor in reporting the value of property for taxation and analyze the different kinds of property which are listed thereon.
3. As a class project, choose some article with which every one is familiar. Place it before the class and let each pupil write down his estimate of the value of it.
4. What especial difficulties arise in the administration of the law which taxes personal property? Explain.
5. What qualifications should an assessor possess? Is there reason for saying that the "assessor" is the most important officer in the taxing system?

SECTION IV—WHAT IS A LEVY AND HOW IS IT DETERMINED?

Knowing the cost of schools for the year and the total amount of property in the community as determined by the assessor, the amount to be charged each property owner can easily be learned. Let us take, for example, a town of 1,600 persons, with property valued at \$1,200,000.

Presume that the operation of schools costs \$10,800 a year. Therefore, each \$100 worth of property would be charged 90 cents for the support of schools. (Work the problem yourself.) It would be said the levy for school purposes is fixed at 90 cents on each \$100; if \$1 were used as the basis of computation instead of \$100, then the levy would be said to be 9 mills for school purposes.

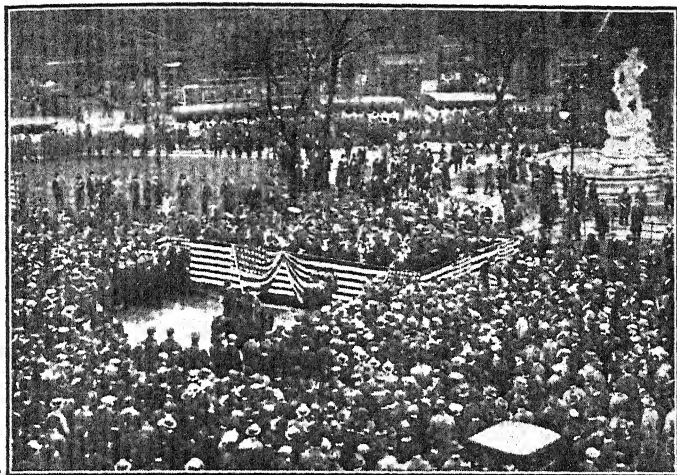
PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. As a class project work out the following:
 - (a) Find out the total cost of operating the schools in your school district or city for last year.
 - (b) Find out the total value of the property in your school district or city as reported by the assessor.
 - (c) Upon the basis of the figures for (a) and (b), compute how much tax a man who has been reported by the assessor as having \$100 worth of property will have to pay toward schools.
2. What figure represents the "tax levy" for school purposes? Would the "levy" for other purposes be computed in the same way?
3. What is the total tax levy on property in the community in which you live? What proportion of the total levy goes for school purposes?
4. Find out the tax levy in an adjoining town or township. Account for any difference between the levy in your district and the levy in the other district investigated.
5. Is there any law which places a limit on the tax levy in your state? If so, why was it passed?

SECTION V — WHO COLLECTS THE TAXES?

Why All Taxes on Property Are Paid at One Place. —
There are many other purposes besides schools for which money must be collected from property owners. Roads, streets, street lights, sewers, parks, playgrounds, support

of the poor, salaries of police, sheriffs, judges, jails, penitentiaries — all these and many other things call for public money. Some of these things are supported by the township, some by the town or city, county, or state. It



THE MUNICIPAL CONCERT GIVEN IN ONE OF OUR LARGE CITIES FOR THE BENEFIT OF OFFICE-WORKERS IS PAID FOR BY PUBLIC MONEY.

is economical for each unit of government to report its levy to a *county officer* and let the county assume charge of collecting all money. So the township reports its levy to a county officer, usually an auditor; likewise the city, county, and state. The auditor then computes the total levy to be charged against the property of the county, and on that basis determines the amount of money which each taxpayer shall pay. He sends a statement of the amount due from each taxpayer to the county treasurer, whose duty it is to collect it. The county treasurer, after collecting

the taxes, then settles with the state and every township, city, and incorporated town within his county.

How Money Can Be Borrowed for Public Purposes. —

In some cases the community cannot provide enough money by taxation to meet its needs. Under such circumstances money must be borrowed and the interest on the loan paid by taxation. Public borrowing is done by issuing bonds, thus making it possible for large numbers of persons to lend money in small amounts for a public purpose.

PROBLEMS — SECTION V

1. When are taxes collected in your county? What official collects them?
2. What is done when a man refuses to pay the taxes assessed against him?
3. What is a poll tax? Why is such a tax levied?
4. Is your city or township in debt? If so, how much? To whom is it in debt?
5. What would you think of the proposition of having your community borrow all the money for supporting its schools in bonds that would have to be paid off in thirty years? In thirty years the present pupils of the schools will be the taxpayers, and thus they could pay the expenses of their own education. Justify your answer.

SECTION VI — STUDENT CITIZENSHIP

What Makes Good Schools? — Thus far we have studied the method by which the adult population of a civic group co-operates for the support of the public schools. Good schools cannot be secured by money and buildings alone; there must be intelligent and earnest co-operation upon the part of those for whom they are established.

Otherwise money spent for schools is wasted. Just as there must be organized co-operation in the community to support schools, so there must be organized co-operation within the school itself.

The Place of Law in School. — Of course, within the school there must be law. Classes must be started at a definite time, at a stated place; they must be dismissed at a given time; because a class is working in a group-way the members are dependent upon one another for intelligent response and regular attendance. In order that the school may work effectively, rules are essential; their purpose should be understood by every pupil, and they should receive the support of those whom they are intended to help. We have learned that an important principle of good citizenship is an intelligent attitude toward the rules by which a group is governed, whether that group be school, factory, or city; the school offers an excellent opportunity for developing the right attitude toward law as a basis for citizenship in future group activities.

The Welfare of the School Above the Welfare of the Pupil. — Of course the student activities of a school give opportunity for pupils to learn to put the interest of the group above the interest of self. The various school teams — athletics, debating, etc. — all require exactly those qualities which make for good citizenship in adult groups.

The boy who attempts to make a "grand-stand" play at the risk of his team's success soon is dropped from the squad. A boy who, for his own whim or pleasure, will

commit an act which will reflect upon the good name of his school, commits an offense even more serious. The pupil who is in the habit of thinking of the success of his school as of equal importance with his own success is developing an attitude of mind which will contribute most to making him a useful citizen and a true patriot.

Leadership in the School. — Organization and leadership are essential in successful school life. The school has methods of advancing pupils according to their attainments; there are fixed times and places appointed for meetings; special school activities make it necessary that leaders be chosen, and these leaders in turn must appoint pupils to do tasks for which each has an ability. The success of these common undertakings depends largely upon each pupil doing his own job in just the way which has been designated. And, on the other hand, ability and leadership are developed in school by giving pupils tasks to work out in their own original ways. In all these ways and many others school life is a real beginning of citizenship in a group activity which is a very important part of our present society.

A New Attitude Toward School. — There was a time in the development of schools in our backwoods when it was not uncommon for a pupil to be hostile to the authority which school imposed. That, however, was in the days when men used a cradle instead of a grain-binder; when travel was by horseback instead of by automobile, and when but little was being done in the group-way. Those

attitudes developed when school was looked upon as punishment rather than opportunity. In that day education was desirable, but not so utterly essential as to-day; the intelligent boy or girl of to-day looks upon school as a good chance to get ready for the competition of the future and looks with disapproval upon anything which will make the work of his school less effective. He sees that it is a group effort to make education possible, in which pupils, teachers, school officers, and the whole community are working together for his own good. Many opportunities arise for the exercise of active responsibility of citizenship for the good of the school. Just as good citizens of a city compel the unruly ones to obey the law, so the good citizens of a modern school, prompted by the same motives, uphold school law. No police force could make a city a safe place to live without the support of good citizens. No body of teachers could make a school a worth-while place to be without the support of school citizens who constantly uphold its laws.

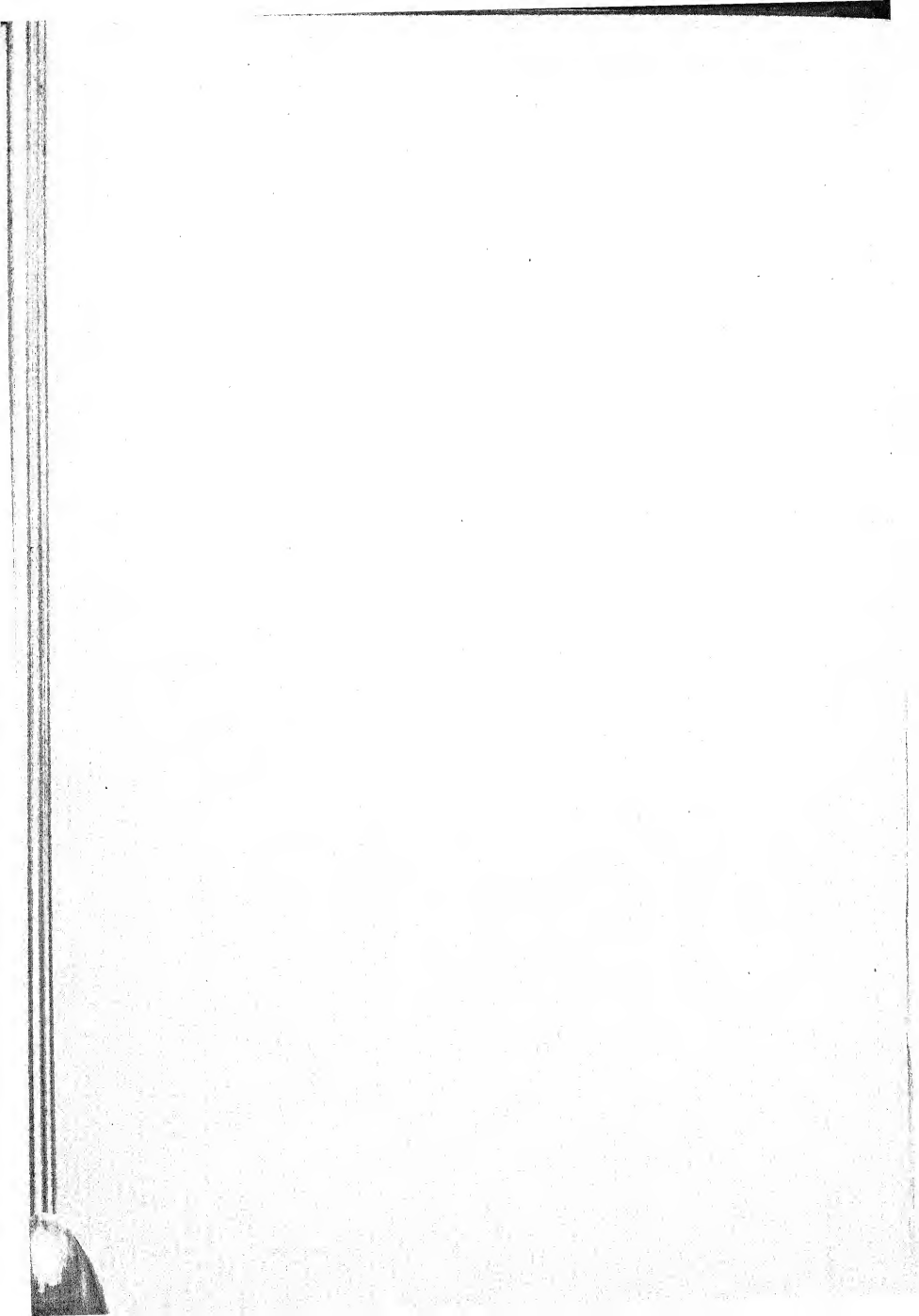
The school is one's first opportunity to demonstrate citizenship qualities in a large group. It gives pupils a good chance to study the plans of organization whereby a co-operative effort may be carried on; to practise a proper attitude toward law; to learn to respect organization, leadership, and obedience to the law; to assume responsibility for the welfare of the group. The pupil in school is not a citizen of the *future*, but of the *present*; his influence is a powerful thing in the making of a good community.

PROBLEMS — SECTION VI

1. Is a lesson assignment an *order* or a *signal*? See Section IV — Chapter III.
2. Is it to be expected that a backwoodsman would even resent taking *signals* from another for a group effort? Why?
3. Show how co-operation in your community has increased your school opportunities.
4. To whom should the good reputation of your school be of the greatest concern: the taxpayer, the school officials, or the pupils?
5. What are four ways by which a pupil may show his loyalty to his school? his disloyalty?
6. What do we mean by the term "school spirit"? Is there any similarity between "school spirit" and "patriotism"? How?

PART II

THE CITIZEN IN INDUSTRY



CHAPTER V

FIRST PRINCIPLES FOR CITIZENS IN INDUSTRY

The purpose of co-operation in school is to secure better means for education. The purpose of co-operation in industry is to secure more things for the satisfaction of our wants — food, clothing, shelter, etc. (See Chapter II, Section V.) The industries of a community are directed to “making a living” for the community. By the expression “making a living” is meant securing the things which will satisfy wants.

SECTION I—OUR INCREASING WANTS

The study of the wants of a community is, of itself, an interesting one. The wants of a community are different at different times; those of summer are somewhat different from those of winter. The wants of any community today are vastly different from the wants of fifty years ago. Some wants may be detrimental; some beneficial. Some wants may be for necessities, some for comforts, some for luxuries. The list of wants of a community covers an ever-increasing range: new forms of food; of clothing of varied types and styles; of shelter, education, transportation, and recreation. Those things which will satisfy wants are called *goods*. To create the conditions by which these goods may be supplied is the task which the community

tries to accomplish through co-operation in industry. This gives rise to a great variety of different types of work which are discussed below.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. List five things which are common wants of a family of to-day which were not wanted by a family of thirty years ago.
2. Make a list of your own personal wants which you consider essential to your best interests. Are any things included which would not have been included in the list of a boy or girl of forty years ago?
3. Name some wants which you consider detrimental; some which you consider beneficial.
4. Give your idea of the difference between a *necessity* and a *luxury*.
5. Is it desirable for the wants of the world to keep on increasing? If so, why?

SECTION II — THE KINDS OF WORK WHICH MEN DO TO SATISFY WANTS

Our Dependence on the Gifts of Nature. — Sometimes we speak of a factory as *making* automobiles, or of a tailor as *making* a suit of clothes. It is important that the meaning of the word *make* in this sense be thoroughly understood. The factory or the tailor merely takes some of the things which nature has supplied and adapts them to the satisfaction of certain definite wants. It should not be forgotten that mankind always was, is, and always will be utterly dependent upon the free gifts of nature, *i.e.*, soil, climate, ore, coal, timber, etc. Everything which we use for food, clothing, shelter, or any other purpose has its origin in a gift from nature, a *natural resource*. It makes no difference how skill may increase through science or art

in adapting resources to human wants, man still remains just as dependent upon natural resources as were those who were in a state of savagery.

Three Tasks Which Must Be Done in Order that Natural Resources May Be Usable. — Natural resources have been given to us in plentiful abundance; in their natural state, however, they are of little use. When, on the one hand, we analyze our wants, and then, on the other hand, we analyze the things which would satisfy those wants, we find natural resources to lack in three fundamental ways:

(1) They are not in the *form* which would satisfy our wants; for instance, iron in the mine.

(2) They are not always in the place to satisfy wants; *e.g.*, a tree in a forest.

(3) They are not always available at the time when they would satisfy wants, *e.g.*, ice in the winter.

Natural resources may lack in one or all of the above respects. A study of the work which men are doing in the industries of a community will show that a large proportion of its workers are, directly or indirectly, (1) giving proper form to natural resources, as in manufacturing; (2) putting natural resources or the products formed therefrom in proper place, as in transportation; (3) storing natural resources, or the products formed therefrom, till needed for the use of the community, as in the wholesale houses, stores, etc.

The Services of People. — There are some wants which men have in which the use of natural resources is *not* directly involved. There may be mentioned the want of

amusement, of advice about the care of health, of instruction, and other personal services of a number of kinds. These wants are, of course, just as real and important as the want for food and clothing. Those who serve the community in satisfying such wants are, of course, serving the community equally with those who supply its food and clothing.

A survey of the life of your community will reveal certain occupations which represent each of the four classes of work mentioned above; such workers as machinists, carpenters, millwrights, jewellers, and many others are making things more usable by *changing* their *form*. Railroad engineers, baggagemen, letter-carriers, truck-drivers, ice-men are engaged in making goods usable by *changing* their *place*. Storekeepers, storage-house operators, canning-factory owners and meat-packers are engaged in adding usefulness to goods by keeping them until they can be used. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, actors, ministers, and nurses are adding to the comfort of the community by giving such *personal* service in each field as the community may desire.

How Workers Are Classified by the United States Census. — The above is but one classification of occupations. Such a classification includes all workers in a community, no matter under what conditions their work may be carried on. Another interesting and valuable classification of occupations is that which is made by the United States census. The census classification includes only workers who are engaged in *gainful occupations*, *i.e.*, workers who are working for a definite money wage. When the census

is taken, the occupation of every person who receives pay for his work is noted and reported. All of the thousands of occupations are then classified in nine classes. The following table gives the number of workers in the United States in each class of occupation:

GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS	1920	
	NUMBER	PER CENT
Total Gainful Workers.....	41,614,248	100
Agriculture, Forestry, and Animal Husbandry.....	10,953,158	26.3
Extraction of Minerals.....	1,090,223	2.6
Manufacture and Mechanical Industries...	12,818,524	30.8
Transportation.....	3,063,582	7.4
Trade.....	4,242,979	10.2
Public Service.....	770,460	1.9
Professional Service.....	2,143,889	5.2
Domestic and Personal Service.....	3,404,892	8.2
Clerical Occupations.....	3,126,541	7.5

From U. S. Census, 1920.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. Prove, by illustration, that the progress of science and invention makes us no less dependent upon the gifts of nature.

2. State three kinds of work in which the purpose is to give natural resources proper form; three in which the purpose is to give proper place; three in which the purpose is to give proper time; three in which two or more of these purposes are involved.

3. Do you consider it possible to say that any one of the *four types* of work given in the text is more important than any other?

4. List the wants which you have through one day, and show how each of the four types of work given in the text aided in supplying them.

5. What workers do you know of who are not in gainful occupations, and therefore not included in the classification of the census?

6. State the service which is rendered by each of the nine divisions of occupations given in Table I.

SECTION III — FOUR THINGS THAT ARE EMPLOYED IN PRODUCING GOODS

We have just studied the different kinds of work which men do in order that the wants of the community may be satisfied. In the remainder of the chapter we shall study the use which is made of four things, all of which are essential in order that sufficient goods may be produced. These four things are: (1) Natural resources; (2) labor; (3) capital (tools); (4) enterprise. The significance of each one of these will be better understood by analyzing the work of a farmer in raising a crop of wheat.

The Way in Which a Farmer Uses the Four Essentials.

— In the first place, he must have a certain amount of *natural resources*; that is, so many acres of land of a reasonable degree of fertility, sunshine, proper temperature, and moisture. But if the farmer were ill in bed all season long, the land would not produce wheat, but likely weeds. It is necessary that the farmer add his *labor power* to the fertility of the soil if a crop is to result. If he were to try to work with just his hands, he could produce but little. He needs tools, — things to work with. He needs horses and wagons and ploughs, a grain-binder, and a machine to thresh the grain, to aid him in his work. With an adequate supply of these, the product of the land can be greatly increased. These *tools* are *capital*.

But there is another element to consider in this farmer's success. It is a proved fact that two farmers, with equal acres of ground of equal fertility, with equal labor power, and with an equal supply of capital, will produce

quite different amounts of grain. One farmer will plan wisely and the other carelessly. One farmer will see to it that his tools are always in condition when needed; the other will neglect them. One farmer will study new and



CARE AND MODERN METHODS PRODUCED THIS CORN, THIRTEEN FEET HIGH.

improved methods, while the other will be content to get along in any way at all. Certainly here is as important an element in producing wheat as are natural resources or tools or labor power. This latter element which the successful farmer possesses we will call *enterprise*. It is a very important element in the industrial success of an individual, and just as great an element of success in the industrial life of a nation.

How the Prosperity of Your Country Depends on These Four Essentials. — It will be readily seen that if the prosperity of a farmer depends upon the use of these four *essentials* in production, so also the prosperity of a manufacturing plant, or a city, or even a nation also depends upon the development of wise means of using these four essentials in production. It is an important part of the training of a citizen to be able to take stock of his community, to see in what way its prosperity is influenced by the presence or absence of any one of these four essentials to production of goods. It is appropriate, then, to study some of the various forms of each one of these four essentials and the contribution which each makes to the welfare of the people of any community.

The Forms of Natural Resources. — A paragraph which precedes has laid emphasis upon the complete dependence of men upon an adequate supply of natural resources. The term natural resources includes all materials and forces of nature above and below the surface of the earth; the fertility of the soil, climate, wind, sunshine, rainfall, humidity of the atmosphere — all the various powers which nature manifests.

As a general rule, a community develops that type of industry which the natural resources of the locality warrant. When for any reason those resources are depleted, the whole industrial life of the community must change. It is impossible to learn too well the lesson that natural resources cannot be increased in amount; in fact, the store of most resources is rapidly diminished by the industrial

activities of men. The necessity for a wise use of our natural gifts as a fundamental act of citizenship forms a large part of the subject-matter of Chapter XI, which follows.

What Is Labor? Its Various Types. — In order that the meaning of the term labor may be understood it will be defined as "*every kind of effort of human beings that is directed toward satisfying wants, in which the effort itself does not satisfy the want.*" It will be seen that this definition excludes *play*, in which the effort itself does satisfy the want.

The efforts of human beings which are directed toward the satisfaction of wants are of many different types; the effort of an architect is labor, so is that of a carpenter. The effort of a chef is labor, so is that of a physician. The effort of a bootblack is labor, so is that of an editor. The definition of labor given above covers the whole great range of activities in which men take part when devoting their efforts to the satisfaction of human wants. When we think of "labor" we should not think only of work done with the hands. The effort of drawing plans for a house is *labor* just as is the effort that is necessary to saw out the rafters.

But there are many different qualities of labor, each rendering a different kind of service to the community. We hear the distinction frequently, *skilled labor* and *unskilled labor*. Some labor is of such a character that automatic machinery may take its place. Other labor is of such a quality that nothing but the human machine itself

can perform it. Steam-shovels can be made to shovel dirt; nothing but a combination of the human brain and hand and eye could paint a landscape. That is what was meant when some one said: "He who works with his hands is a laborer; he who works with his hands and his head is an artisan; he who works with his hands and his head and his heart is an artist."

What Is Capital? — Capital is a term that is too generally misunderstood. Some think of capital merely as money, whereas money itself is *capital*, only in a very limited way. Capital is *tools*, — *goods* which are the product of human effort, which are devoted to producing goods in the future. Some goods which are the product of human effort are devoted, not to producing more goods, but to immediate satisfaction of wants. Such things as ice-cream, food on the table, a suit of clothes, a new novel, are used to satisfy immediate wants. These are usually called *consumers' goods*. Such things as hammers, pots, pans, typewriters, trucks, lathes, do not of themselves satisfy wants at all, but they are of use to get such things as will satisfy wants. This latter class of goods is *capital*.

The progress of the world in a sense can be measured by the degree to which capital goods are used in production. Without tools life for the savage was difficult and precarious. The supply of goods which he was able to command was meagre, and comprised only such things as would satisfy the most simple wants. No matter how hard he worked, man in *primitive* society was but few days removed from famine. In time certain men came to see

the advantages that lay in the use of tools. Because every drink of water meant a trip from the cave to the spring, they came to see the advantage and convenience that would lie in having some means for bringing a quantity of spring water to the cave. A hunter with no tools but a club began to dream of methods of killing game which would bring larger returns. The fisherman who could fish only in shallow water near the shore began to see a chance for a greater catch if he could get into the open sea. The desire for a more convenient water-supply lay back of the construction of buckets; the need for more effective methods of hunting and fishing gave rise to the construction of the bow and arrow, the trap and the canoe.

An Example of How Capital Came to Be. — But wishing for the canoe did not bring it into existence. Certain conditions had to be met that would make the dream of a canoe a reality. The following excerpt from "Political Economy," by Francis A. Walker, well describes the conditions under which capital comes into existence:

Let us take the case of a tribe dwelling along the shore, and subsisting upon fish caught from the rocks which jut into the sea. Summer and winter together, good seasons and bad, they derive from this source a scanty and precarious subsistence. When the fish are plentiful, the people live freely, even gluttonously. When their luck is bad, they submit to privations which involve suffering, reaching sometimes the pitch of famine. Now let us suppose that one of these fishermen, moved by a strong desire to better his condition, undertakes to lay by a store of fish. Living as closely as will consist with health and strength,

he denies himself all luxury, even at the height of the season, and little by little accumulates in his hut a considerable quantity of dried food. This is wealth. Whether it shall become capital or not depends upon the use which is to be made of it. If destined to be merely a reserve against hard times, it remains wealth, but does not become capital.

But our fisherman, in laying by his store of fish, has higher designs than to equalize the food consumption of the year. As the dull season approaches, he takes all the food he can carry and goes into the hills, where he finds trees whose bark can be detached by sharp stones. Again and again he returns to his work in the hills, while his neighbors are painfully striving to keep themselves alive. At the end of the dull season he brings down to the water a canoe, so light that it can be borne upon his shoulder, so buoyant that he can paddle in and out to the "banks" which lie two or three miles from shore, where in one day he can get as many fish as he could catch from off the rocks in a week.

The canoe is capital, the fisherman is a capitalist. He can take his choice of three things: He may go out in his canoe and bring home supplies of fish which will allow him to marry and rear a family in comfort, and with his surplus hire some of his neighbors to build him a hut, their women to weave him blankets, and their children to bring water from the spring and wait upon his family; or, secondly, he may let out the canoe to some one who will be glad to get the use of it on payment of all the fish which one family could fairly consume, and himself stay at home in complete idleness, basking in the sun, and on stormy days seeking refuge in his comfortable hut; or, which is perhaps most likely, he may, thirdly, let out the canoe, and himself turn to advantage the knowledge and experience acquired in its construction, by making more canoes.

Again and again he will reappear upon the shore, bringing a new canoe, for the use of which a score of his neighbors will clamorously compete. And later canoes, be it noted, are made at a smaller cost of effort and sacrifice on the part of the builder. He has become familiar with the groves where the trees are largest, and the trunks most clear of branches; he has acquired a knack which makes it almost pleasure to strip off the vast rolls of tough, elastic bark; he never spoils his half-completed work now by a clumsy movement of an ill-directed blow. Moreover, his personal toil is reduced to a minimum, for he has hired men to carry his burdens, and do all the heavy labor.

What Made the Canoe Possible? — It is important that we see from this statement just *what* makes capital possible. It is not a *plan* alone, nor work alone, nor saving alone that makes tools possible, but rather a combination of these. Capital in all its various forms represents a degree of self-denial and abstinence without which no tools could exist. Just as in primitive times the canoe of the savage grew out of his savings, so to-day our railroads and steamships and factories and office-buildings and all other tools of production arise from our savings.

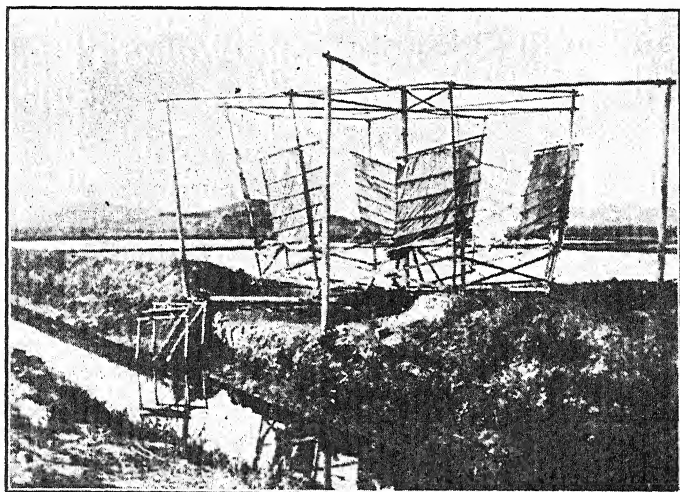
What Is Enterprise? — It is left for us to understand what is meant by the term "enterprise" as one of the four essentials of production. In a previous paragraph reference was made to the fact that two farmers possessing equal amounts of natural resources, labor power, and capital would produce quite different amounts of goods. One farmer will forge ahead, try out new methods, keep his land in good condition, and care wisely for his live stock.

As it is with farmers, so it is in every kind of industry. Certain men possess qualities of foresight in seeing new opportunities in business; they have the "nerve" to take risks in order that those opportunities may be developed; they are willing to work long years with perhaps but little return in the hope that some day a larger degree of success will result. These are the men who are willing to undertake new problems; they do a great service in contributing to human welfare.

What Enterprise Does. — The prosperity of a country is largely determined by the degree to which its population exhibits the quality of enterprise. Natural resources may be present in great abundance, and a great store of labor power in the country. But if enterprise is lacking the natural resources will be left undeveloped; but little, if any, capital will come into existence, and the population will remain in poverty. There are many illustrations of this truth which readily come to mind. China is a land of rich natural resources and labor power. She has outwardly all the possibilities of being a prosperous nation. But for some reason her coal is not mined, the power of her rivers is still unharnessed, the great forces which might make the people of China live in comfort are allowed to lie undeveloped. When we contrast the life of the people of China with that of the people of America, where the forces of nature are made to serve man so effectually, it is possible for us to get something of an idea of the importance of *enterprise* as an essential in production.

What is true of nations is also true of communities

within the nation. Some communities grow prosperous even in adverse locations because of the enterprise of the population; other communities with greater natural resources remain comparatively poor because there is lack-



A CONTRAST TO MODERN METHODS.

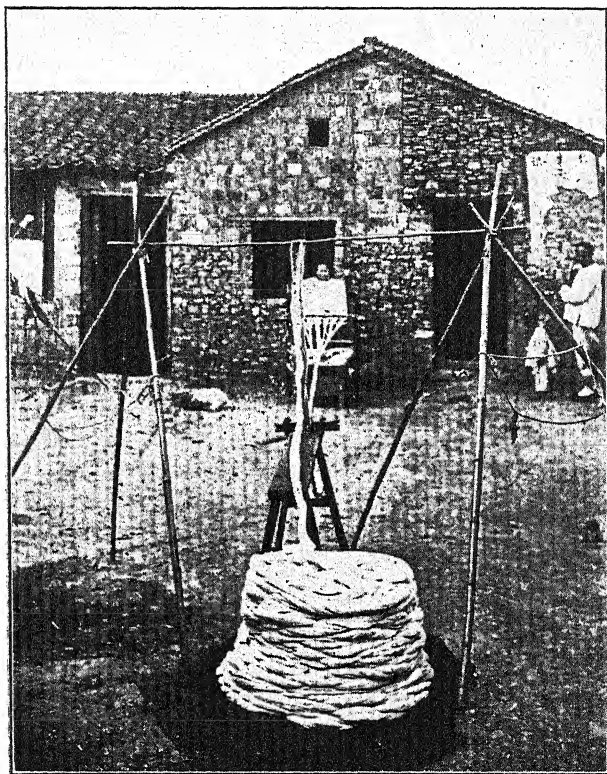
A windmill built by a Chinaman to pump water into a salt field in Manchuria.

ing the spirit of venture and foresight and nerve which enterprise exhibits. The pupil will find in his own experience examples of communities which have succeeded or failed because of the presence or absence of this important essential of production.

SECTION IV — A PROBLEM IN DIVISION

In any product, be it a bushel of wheat, a chair, or an automobile, there is so much of natural resources, so much labor, so much capital, so much enterprise. If one man

would contribute all four of these elements, no question would arise when a product is completed. But when one



Copyright, Keystone View Co.

A PRIMITIVE METHOD USED IN CHINA IN REELING COTTON THREAD
FOR USE ON THE LOOM.

man furnishes the resources, another the labor, another the capital, and another the enterprise, to determine the just share of each in the completed product becomes a

problem. The owner of the natural resources must receive a rent; the laborer, a wage; the owner of the capital, interest; the entrepreneur, profit. It happens in many industries that one group of men furnishes the capital (tools) and procures the resources. Another group furnishes the labor. From this condition arise the differences which are often referred to as the conflict between *capital* and *labor*.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. List the ten natural resources which you consider of greatest importance to the industries of your community.
2. In the construction of an automobile name three important natural resources that are essential; three kinds of labor; five forms of capital.
3. Discuss the problems which a savage had to solve in order that tools might be produced. Do the same problems have to be solved in order that tools can be produced in modern times?
4. Can you give examples in your community of a laborer, an artisan, an artist, on the basis of the quotation given in the text?
5. From the story of the savage and canoe, show the part of self-abstinence (saving) in producing the canoe; of foresight; of labor. Would any one of these three efforts, unaided by the other two, have produced a canoe? Explain.
6. List your own possessions and classify as to consumers' goods and capital goods on the basis of the definition of capital in the text.
7. Do you know of any examples of communities where there is an abundance of natural resources, but where there is lack of real prosperity? Can you explain why conditions are thus?
8. Show how the facts of this chapter have a bearing on the duties of rulers as stated in the latter part of Chapter I.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMING OF THE AGE OF GREAT MACHINES

In *every* age it has been necessary to change the form of natural resources, the place of natural resources and their products, and to store natural resources and their products in one season for use in another. To do these things it has been necessary to make use of labor, tools, and enterprise. But in *this* age in which we live we use these things quite differently than in the ages that have gone. As man's knowledge of the laws of nature has increased, new discoveries and inventions have entirely changed the methods by which natural resources can be brought to satisfy wants. This chapter will tell of a few of the important discoveries and inventions which brought about the changes which affect us greatly to-day.

SECTION I — HOW MEN LIVED BEFORE THE AGE OF MACHINES

The Methods of Manufacture Before the Coming of Machines. — The whole story of the change in methods by which natural resources are made to satisfy human wants centres about the story of the substitution of machines for man-power. When the advantages of power machinery were recognized, the change from the simple methods of hand industry to the complex methods of machine industry was very rapid indeed. Before the dis-

covery of the steam-engine, practically all manufacture was carried on by *artisans* in their own houses or in sheds attached to their homes. The artisan was aided by members of his family, and sometimes by one or more *apprentices*, *i. e.*, boys who were learning the trade.

The following description of the life of a Massachusetts town in 1798 portrays a typical industrial condition prevailing before the coming of machines:

There were about a thousand people in the town at this date. They were nearly all *husbandmen*. What few mechanics there were were also farmers upon a large or small scale. Among those half-mechanics and half-farmers were a blacksmith, a nail-worker, a gun-smith, wheelwrights, carpenters, coopers, cobblers, peeled-broom makers, and tailors. The cobblers had a bench in their kitchen, and would also go around to the farmers' houses in the fall with their kits and stay a week or so, mending and making the family supply of shoes. The father or grandfather was still making most of the brooms. The wheelwright made ox-cart wheels, axles, and tongues, the remainder of the cart being made by the farmer. The carpenter had little to do, because every thriving man could hew, mortise, and lay shingles. The spinning, weaving, and dyeing were still done in the households. Every family owned a great and little wheel, as well as a loom. The dye-pot was still in the chimney corner. Soap was made in every family. There were also at this time a potter, a sieve-maker, and four cider-mills.

Home Life Before the Coming of Machines.—The family of that day evidently was quite independent of the rest of the community for the things that it required. The

home was in many respects home, church, school, factory, and, in a way, a little local government. Under those conditions the ways of living were easily understood. It was not *necessarily* a desirable way of living. Only the plainest food could be had; clothing was crude and unbecoming. There was but little to relieve the monotony of life, for amusements were confined to simple home games and family gatherings. Contact with the world outside was limited; books were expensive and newspapers were scarce indeed. A hundred-mile journey was an event of a lifetime, attended with hardships and trying experiences.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. Cite three instances in which you know that machines have been substituted for man-power.
2. What were some of the advantages of living in the New England village in 1798 over modern conditions of living?
3. Find out about the amusements of people who lived in the early colonial towns in our country; about the methods of travel and communication.

SECTION II — THE DEVELOPMENT OF MACHINES

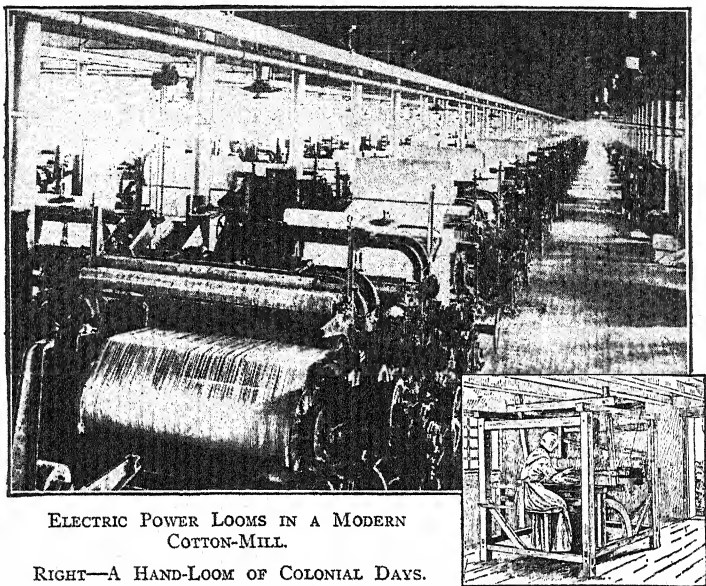
How the Demand for the Products of Machines Increased. — In such a condition as this men lived until the early part of the nineteenth century. With that century came a series of discoveries and inventions which marked the beginning of the most wonderful century of progress in the history of the world. Very many of the early discoveries of this period took place in England. There were a number of reasons for this. First, perhaps, was the fact that many forces were at work to urge Englishmen to pro-

duce more goods. In the discoveries, explorations, and trade developments of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries England had taken a large part, and as a result England's goods were in great demand. Under these conditions men began to cast about to find more efficient methods of manufacture than those which they had used for so many years. Inventions resulted which produced such marked changes in the whole field of manufacturing that the change which thus took place in the early nineteenth century is commonly referred to as the "industrial revolution." It was truly a *revolution*. As a result of it, our mode of living, of travelling, of manufacturing has changed from the conditions of living described for the Massachusetts town in 1798 to conditions in which we live to-day.

How the Demand for Machines Increased in Cloth-Making.— In order to understand how and why these amazing changes took place, it is necessary to study what took place in a typical industry. The industry which seems to serve well to illustrate the changes brought by the *industrial revolution* is that of cloth-making. (Cloth-making was but one of the industries affected; similar changes took place in many other lines of manufacture.)

Cotton had long been in use in a limited way, but it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that cotton became of importance in clothing the world. It had been impossible to produce a cotton thread strong enough for the warp of the cloth. So-called cotton materials were a combination of wool or linen and cotton. The following

description of changing processes in making cotton cloth serves as a basis for explaining how invention and discovery changed not only the industry itself but every condition of living of the people of the whole country.



ELECTRIC POWER LOOMS IN A MODERN
COTTON-MILL.

RIGHT—A HAND-LOOM OF COLONIAL DAYS.

The raw material for making cotton cloth was the tangled mass of cotton fibres which came directly from the field. The only work which had been done on it was the laborious work of picking out the seeds by hand. The first step taken toward making cloth was to *straighten out the fibres* so that they lay parallel. This was accomplished by "carding," or brushing and combing the fibres by hand with stiff brushes, called "cards." The next step was "spinning," the process of drawing out the parallel fibres into a slender string and twisting them at the same time,

so that the fibres adhered to one another and formed a "card," or "thread." The spinning was done with simple hand or foot power spinning-wheels, in the operation of which the fibres were drawn out by hand and twisted by a whirling device called a "flyer." When the fibres had been thus spun into thread, the process of "weaving" remained to be done. The work was performed on hand-loom. The "warp" threads were first stretched across a wooden frame and by means of a large wooden needle, called a "shuttle," the "wool" threads were woven horizontally across them. After the cloth was woven it was often bleached by a slow process, and if a figured cloth, like calico, was desired, the color was stamped on by hand dies.

The processes of manufacturing cloth were, then: (1) carding, (2) spinning, (3) weaving, (4) dyeing. Now it happened that the process which retarded the manufacture more than any other, and upon which all other work depended, was spinning. One weaver could use the yarn of six spinners, and to aggravate the condition the more, in 1739 an invention called the "flying shuttle" had increased the speed with which weavers could work.

How Inventions Met the Demand for Machines in Cloth-Making. — Thus matters stood when, in 1764, James Hargreaves, a master weaver in England, invented a machine with which one man could spin eight threads at the same time. In honor of his wife he called it a "spinning-jenny." Very soon after this machines making thirty threads at a time were designed. Then Samuel Crompton succeeded in combining the good qualities of all earlier

machines in a machine called a "spinning-mule," which spun a finer thread than could be spun on the old spinning-wheel, and thus made possible the manufacture of muslin cloth. Because of Crompton's invention, yarn of the very finest quality was at the disposal of the weaver, and in a quantity so great that it could not all be used. "The spinster had beaten the weaver, just as the weaver had beaten the spinster." As a result of these developments, manufacturers found that cloth could be produced in ever-increasing quantities.

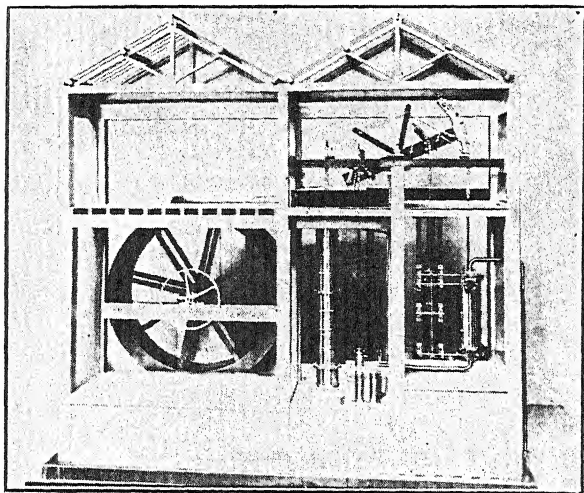
PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. Do the facts of this section indicate in any way to you the truth of the adage "Necessity is the mother of invention"?
2. What is the difference between the meaning of the words *revolution* and *evolution*? Would the word *evolution* have been appropriate to apply to the industrial change that occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? If so, why?
3. Did the inventions of Eli Whitney have any relation to the developments related in this section?
4. Was the world benefited by the inventions of Crompton and Hargreaves? Were any people injured thereby? Answer carefully.

SECTION III — HOW POWER WAS SUPPLIED TO RUN MACHINES

Supplying the Engine. — But the invention of *machines* for the production of cotton cloth would have had but little effect without the development, at the same time, of a method of furnishing power for their operation. For years men had been using air, wind, and water to furnish power in certain processes, but these were not reliable. Fortunately for us, following close upon the development of

machines for spinning and weaving, a *new method of supplying power* was given to the world. In 1769 James Watt, a mathematical instrument-maker in Glasgow, obtained his first patent for "methods of lessening the consumption of



MODEL OF WATT'S STEAM-ENGINE.

steam in fire-engines." As a result of Watt's discoveries, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the steam-engine was established as a new but powerful force in manufacturing, and, no matter how large a machine a man wished to build, power could be supplied to run it.

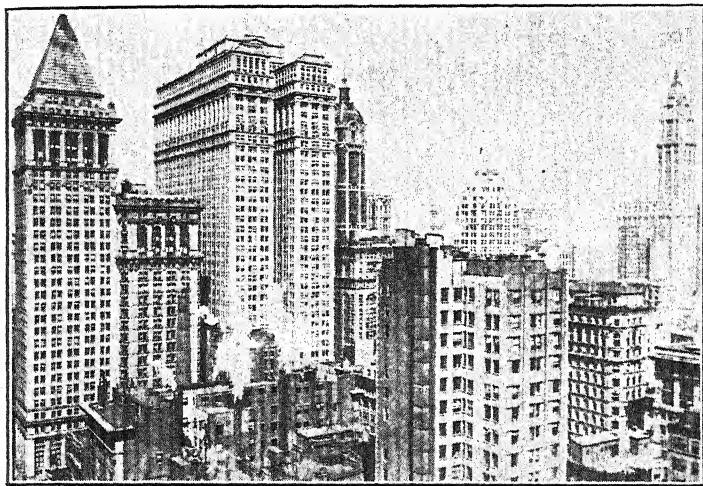
Supplying the Iron. — But the development of the steam-engine again depended upon two things: first, efficient methods of iron manufacture; and, second, an unlimited supply of fuel. In fact, the production of iron depended

upon the supply of fuel. Iron long had been smelted in England by the use of wood for fuel, but it took such large quantities that the "country gentlemen hesitated to sell their trees for fuel when the increase in shipping was creating a growing demand for lumber." It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that the possibility of substituting coal for wood in smelting was conclusively established. When the possibility of using coal was thoroughly recognized and made possible, the production of iron on a large scale also became possible.

Supplying the Fuel. — But the production of sufficient coal in turn depended upon conquering the difficulties of mining it. The greatest difficulty lay in the great danger of the miner from "fire-damp," a gas which made serious explosions liable at any time. But this problem also was solved when, in 1815, Sir Humphry Davy perfected a safety-lamp which could be taken into a mine where "fire-damp" existed without danger of explosion. Through this invention the way was made clear for sufficient production of coal to meet the increasing demands, both for the production of iron and also for fuel for the steam-engine. It is no wonder that the invention of Sir Humphry Davy has been called "one of the most beneficial discoveries ever given to mankind."

How One Invention Called for Another. — We now have a very interesting series of events. The satisfaction of the need of clothing depended upon the development of *machines*. The operation of those machines depended

upon reliable engine power. The possibilities of *engine power* depended upon an adequate production of iron and coal. A supply of iron and coal depended upon an invention which would make mining less dangerous. It is re-



Copyright, Ewing Galloway.

THE SKYSCRAPERS OF NEW YORK CITY WERE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE
"AGE OF STEEL."

markable and indeed fortunate that all those problems were solved in the same half-century. With their solution, however, the way was made clear for a new era in the world's life. Men had found new values in natural resources that had been hitherto relatively unimportant. Their interests turned from the soil to iron and coal. They soon learned that through iron and coal even the products of the soil could be increased; that by the use of iron and coal not only clothing but food and shelter and transpor-

tation could be much better supplied. Thus was ushered in the "age of steel," which gave us ocean liners, Pullman cars, automobiles, skyscrapers, and aeroplanes, and the many, many marvels of this age in which we live.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Topics for report and outside study:
 - (a) James Watt.
 - (c) Fire-damp.
 - (b) Bessemer process.
 - (d) Sir Humphry Davy.
2. Write down in order the series of wants mentioned in this chapter and the discoveries and inventions which supplied the want.
3. Explain fully what is meant by "men had found new values in natural resources that had been hitherto relatively unimportant." Give examples.
4. Show how iron helps to furnish food.

CHAPTER VII

HOW GREAT INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ARE ESTABLISHED, OWNED, AND CONTROLLED

All the great machines with which we find ourselves surrounded in this modern day came into existence because certain forces were at work to make them possible. It is the purpose of this chapter to point out what those *forces* were in order that their importance may be more fully understood and appreciated.

SECTION I — HOW GREAT INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ARE ESTABLISHED AND OWNED

The Part of Labor, Risk, Saving, and Enterprise. —
Let us suppose that a man believed that a certain kind of machine, if constructed, would increase his output one hundred times. Certain things are required: a supply of iron from which to make the machine, a great deal of labor, and a variety of tools. This means that the man must believe in the machine enough to be willing to invest some *savings* in order that the machine may be built. If the man who believed in the machine attempted to build it himself, he had to procure materials; he could not get these without savings. Should he care to "get out" the wood, or iron, or whatever else were needed, it would be necessary to have a store of food to support him while he worked. So we learn that to bring even a very simple machine into existence requires that some one labor and

risk his savings and his time. Of course the larger the machine the more savings will have to be invested.

How Savings Are Combined. — The construction of the machinery with which a modern factory is equipped to-day requires more savings than any one man can possibly command. The equipment of a modern factory calls for the risk of the investment of thousands of dollars. A great railroad system, or a steamship-line, requires millions of dollars of invested savings. As a result, it became necessary for a plan to be worked out whereby the resources of many people could be combined in order that expensive machinery might be built. When plans are being worked out for combining the resources of a number of persons to secure equipment for an industrial project, the process often is referred to as "forming a company." That statement means, in fact, the development of an *organization* whereby a *company* or group of individuals may together own and operate an industry. Sometimes a "*company*" may secure the equipment necessary for operation from the resources of a few — perhaps a half-dozen men. But the greater the expense of the equipment, the more people it will be necessary to interest. In this men must learn the *group way* in industrial activities. Of course, if an industry requires but little savings, it can be owned and controlled by one man, privately, or perhaps by two or more men in partnership.

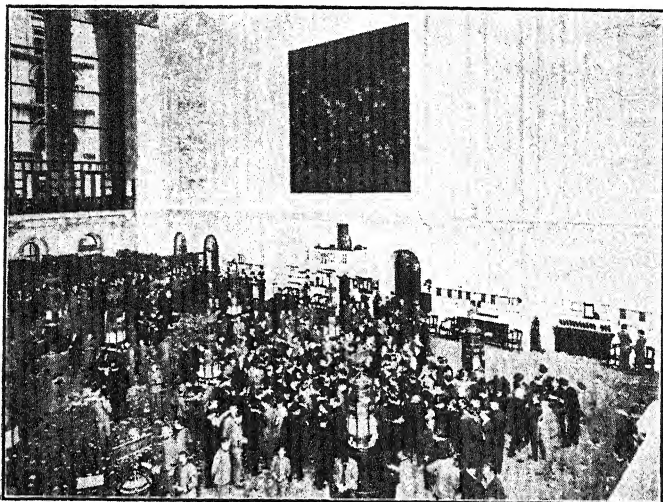
What Is a Corporation? — The usual plan whereby the equipment for a large industrial enterprise may be procured

is through the organization of a *corporation*. A corporation is merely a body of individuals to whom the law has given the privilege of acting as one. By this means a great number of people may invest money in a new factory; through proper organization they may work together as one, with a common purpose, and with the advantages of united effort, just as eleven men work together in football games.

How this is done may be explained briefly. Presume that Mr. John Long sees that there is need and demand for a new kind of desk for schools. He begins to design and plan a desk that he believes will meet the need. After he has succeeded in working out a satisfactory design, he finds that it will take a great deal of money to procure the tools, machinery, etc., to manufacture and place his invention on the market profitably. He gets two or three of his friends interested enough to be willing to invest some of their savings in his venture.

Becoming Incorporated and Selling Stock. — It has become evident that to procure the equipment needed to manufacture as they planned, it will be necessary to get a fund of \$100,000. But neither Mr. Long nor his friends have anything like \$100,000; together they have only \$10,000. They file a statement of the purposes and plans of the new company with a State officer (usually a secretary of state), and if approved by him, they soon receive permission to operate as a corporation. By their charter they are given permission to issue "stock," *i. e.*, to divide the \$100,000 into 1,000 shares, costing \$100 each. The

buyer of a share of stock *merely buys a right to share proportionately in whatever profits the company may eventually earn.* One man has \$5,000, so he buys 50 shares; two other friends that have become interested have \$2,500 each, so



INTERIOR OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE, NEW YORK.

Here shares in various business enterprises are bought and sold.

they each buy twenty-five shares. But they tell their friends about the new company. A number of them also become convinced that it offers good prospects for considerable earnings. In a short time all of the shares of stock are "sold," and \$100,000 is in the company treasury for the purchase of equipment. In selling the 1,000 shares, 200 persons or more may have bought stock. These 200 are the *stockholders*; they are the joint *risk-takers* in the newly organized industry.

The Importance of Corporations in Our Business Life. —

It is by such a plan as this that the great industrial enterprises of to-day — factories, mines, railroads, hotels, office-buildings are owned. Machine production as we have it to-day would never have been possible without a plan whereby the savings of great numbers of people might be made to work as a unit. Some of the business enterprises of to-day, such as railroads, packing-houses, steel plants, automobile factories, employ capital amounting to tens and even hundreds of millions of dollars. There are thousands of others which employ capital of \$100,000 to \$1,000,000. None of these corporations is owned by one man or even by a small group of men. Many of our railroads are owned by more than 100,000 stockholders; the same thing holds true of large steel companies and packing-plants, where great amounts of capital are necessary for operation. The development of manufacture on a large scale was a great accomplishment in making steam, belts, pulleys, and cogs work together; it was just as great an accomplishment to get men to work together in the ownership and operation of these tools.

It is essential that we understand the importance of corporations in our industrial life. Of all manufacturing establishments in the United States in 1914, 28 per cent were corporations, but they produced 83 per cent of all the manufactured products of the country. In other words, for every \$10 worth of manufactured goods in America, \$8 worth is produced by a corporation; also, for each 100 men engaged in manufacturing in the United States, 80 are working for firms that are corporation-owned. It

means that for any given 10 boys in the class who will go into manufacturing, 8 will work for corporations. An understanding of the organization and working plan of the corporation becomes highly important for intelligent citizenship in the industrial society of to-day.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. When the hand weavers of England found out that a power-machine would make cloth much more economically than a hand-machine, why did not every hand weaver build a power-machine?

2. Are the problems of bringing into existence a machine of any kind greatly dissimilar from the problems of the savage in procuring a canoe?

3. Show how some of the industrial enterprises of your community represent labor; saving; risk; enterprise.

4. If a man asked you to invest \$10 of your savings in an industrial enterprise, what questions should you ask him?

5. Would the corporation method of ownership have been necessary if only small machines were needed? Explain.

6. According to the definition of the word corporation in the text, is a high-school football-team a corporation? Explain your answer. If not, what could make it a corporation?

7. When one buys *stock* in a corporation, what does he actually buy?

8. I own a \$100 share of stock in a corporation in which \$100,000 is invested. The corporation earned \$7,000 in one year. What was my share of the earnings? What was my share called?

9. Is there any reason for believing that the development of the corporation method of owning should receive some credit for the great increase in the world's comfort?

SECTION II — HOW GREAT INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ARE CONTROLLED

Creating an Organization. — The method by which a corporation is organized and owned has already been de-

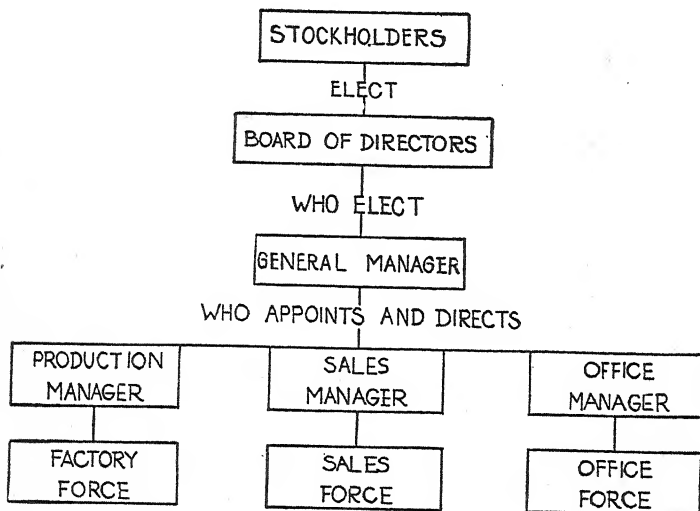
scribed. It is necessary to understand next the way in which this group effort is managed and controlled. It will be interesting to observe that the principles and methods of organization are not greatly different from that by which a city owns and controls its schools as already described.

The Purpose of the Board of Directors. — In the first place, each shareholder is given power in the management in proportion to the number of shares of stock which he owns. That is, in deciding certain questions as to what the corporation shall do, a man who owns one share gets one vote, while one who owns ten shares will get ten votes. The shareholders whom Mr. Long persuaded to invest are not acquainted, however, with the business of manufacturing school-desks. It is very likely that not one man except Mr. Long himself knows anything about the business. Each stockholder invested his savings, however, in the hope of making a profit. The best plan for insuring profits is to turn the management of the business over to certain representatives of the stockholders — a *Board of Directors*. The shareholders, or stockholders, have a meeting at which a board of directors is chosen, as was provided in their charter from the State. This board is made up of persons who hold one or more shares. The persons chosen by the stockholders to make up this “board” are usually selected because the majority of the shareholders have confidence in the business judgment of these persons, and the shareholders agree that all broad questions of policy of the company shall be decided by this board. It might be expected that because of his fitness, Mr. Long, the organ-

izer of the company, would be chosen as one of the directors. He likely will be selected as the chairman of the board of directors of the company, and, as such, he may be authorized to direct the business of the firm as a general manager.

The Duties of a General Manager. — Mr. Long, as general manager, would have the authority of the shareholders to make all plans for starting manufacture. With the advice of his board of directors he buys a building site, constructs a building, and begins to install machinery. It soon becomes clear that he needs helpers of certain kinds of experience and skill to make the enterprise a success. A study of the operation of his factory may disclose three general types of work to be done: (1) The desks must be made, (2) they must be sold, (3) there must be a system of keeping records and accounts. So Mr. Long finds a man whom he will put in charge of making the desks, and calls him a production manager. For selling the product he hires a sales manager, and to keep the records he employs an office manager. This is the process of developing an organization, *i. e.*, getting people to do work for which their abilities prepare them. The same process goes on within each department. The production manager finds in his department special types of work to which especially trained men must be appointed. The same thing holds true in each of the other departments, and soon a great factory organization is worked out. The chart which follows shows the organization plan which such a factory as just described might adopt.

How Men Work Together in a Corporation. — The chart of organization of a great corporation has the appearance of a great scheme of network. Such organization results in greater production of goods; it was made possible by enterprise furnishing a plan of co-operation, whereby the



THE GENERAL PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF A CORPORATION.

savings of large numbers of people could be combined, and expensive equipment, natural resources, and tools (capital) provided. That, however, is only the beginning of organization and co-operation. Workers must be given tasks according to their skill and fitness. Each must do his work so that his part of the final product will be dependable. In fact, this plan of manufacture is the development of a great plan of co-operation of shareholders, managers, superintendents, foremen, and workers. It means

the building up of a great human machine in which each one has an important, although a seemingly insignificant, place. It is a marvellous example of the *group way*.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. From a study of the diagram representing the method of controlling a corporation, is a corporation controlled by a representative or a democratic plan?

2. What would be the advantage of owning 51 per cent of the stock of a corporation?

3. What would you consider to be the necessary qualifications for a good member of the board of directors of the company described above?

4. The following is a statement of the organization scheme of a company which manufactures automobiles. From the information given draw a neat chart which will show the relation of different departments and workers within the departments to each other.

The stockholders elect a board of directors. The board of directors elects a general manager. The working force directly beneath the general manager is in five departments — engineering, shop, inspection, sales, and office. Each department is supervised by a head. The engineering department is divided into three divisions — designing, tool designing, experimental. The shop department is in two general divisions — the foundry and machine-shop. The foundry is supervised by a superintendent, and under him are core-makers, bench moulders, floor moulders, machine moulders, and yard men, with a foreman over each group. The machine-shop is supervised by a general foreman, who is in charge of five subdivisions — forging, machining, assembly, body, paint. In the machining subdivision are drill-presses, lathes, planers, grinders, milling-machines, gear-hobbers, and screw-machines. The assembly subdivision has within it four sections — unit assembly, final assembly, block test, and final test. The body subdivision is made up of the work of body construction and upholstery. The paint subdivision is in three sections — flat color, varnish, rubbing.

Under the sales department are branch offices, with a branch-office manager over each. The office department is in charge of an office

manager, under whom are accountants, bookkeepers, stenographers, file clerks, computers, etc.

5. From the diagram drawn in the preceding exercise, it is evident that the president or general manager of such an organization is the connecting-link between the stockholders (the real owners) and the employees of the company. What results must the general manager get in order to satisfy the stockholders? the employees?

6. Why is it not possible at all times for the stockholders to know the conditions under which the laborers in the organization are working? What is the responsibility of the general manager and the board of directors in this matter?

7. What is the share of the earnings of a corporation which the stockholders receive called? What is the share of the labor called? Why do the interests sometimes clash? What circumstances make it difficult to settle their differences?

8. Show how the interests of the stockholders and the laborers in such an organization are one.

9. If you had an ambition to become the general manager of such a business as the one that we have studied, what course of preparation would you pursue?

CHAPTER VIII

CONDITIONS WHICH RESULTED FROM THE USE OF GREAT MACHINES IN PRODUCING GOODS

SECTION I — MANUFACTURING WAS REMOVED FROM THE HOME

What Was the Effect Upon the Home? — Perhaps the first important result of the development of manufacture by machines was that manufacturing was removed from the home to a factory. This is often referred to as the coming of the "factory system" of production. Instead of conditions as described in Massachusetts at the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the cobbler had a bench in his kitchen, practically all shoes are now made in a *factory*, where thousands of employees work together on great machines, thousands of shoes being produced daily. When the person of to-day considers the various things which he makes use of daily, he will find practically nothing which is a product of home manufacture. This change has made the home life of to-day different from that of the time which precedes the coming of the factory system. No longer are members of the family associated in their work; each one goes into different environments and associations. This effect upon the home *may* be good; it *might* be bad. On the one hand, it removes from the home many things which destroyed its beauty, its orderliness, and its rest. On the other hand, it may be that the

members of the family are apart so much that they become strangers to one another, and that they have but little understanding of each other's problems. It will be a fine thing for the world if the good which can come to the home from the *factory system* can be kept, and the evil which might result can be avoided.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

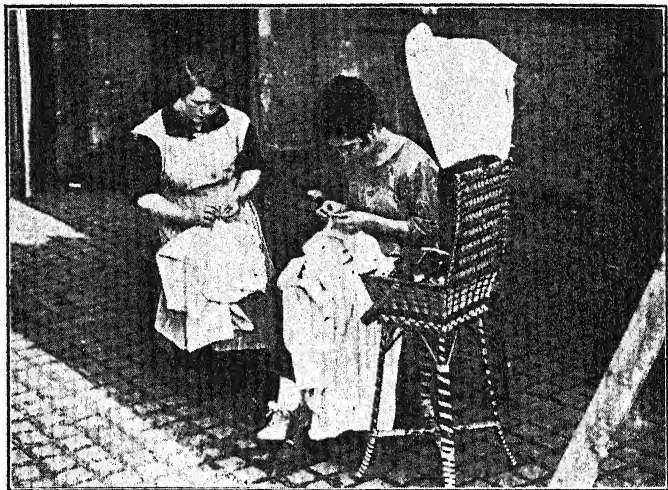
1. Did a boy in Massachusetts in 1798 have a better chance to know his father well than the boy in a town or city of to-day?
2. Tell about five things which once were manufactured in the home, but which are now produced in a factory.
3. In what ways has the removal of manufacturing processes from the home had a good effect upon home life?
4. How has the coming of the "factory system" had an effect upon the activities of girls and women?

SECTION II — MORE GOODS WERE PRODUCED

How Manufacture on a Large Scale Made Goods Cheaper. — Manufacture by *power-machine* took the place of manufacture by *hand-machine*. Clothing, instead of being made a few yards a day in the home, is now made in a factory, thousands of yards per day. Thus manufacture on a *small scale* was supplanted by manufacture on a *large scale*. This resulted in great economies which made goods of all kinds cheaper and more plentiful.

The benefits of manufacture on a large scale are apparent to us in our every-day purchases. Why did manufacture on a large scale make goods cheaper? It is often said about an article which can be purchased at a surprisingly low price: "Yes, it is cheap because the factory makes

hundreds of them each day." The manufacturer who makes one hundred pairs of shoes per day is expected to undersell the cobbler who can make only one pair per week. Each one of us knows of articles which he now



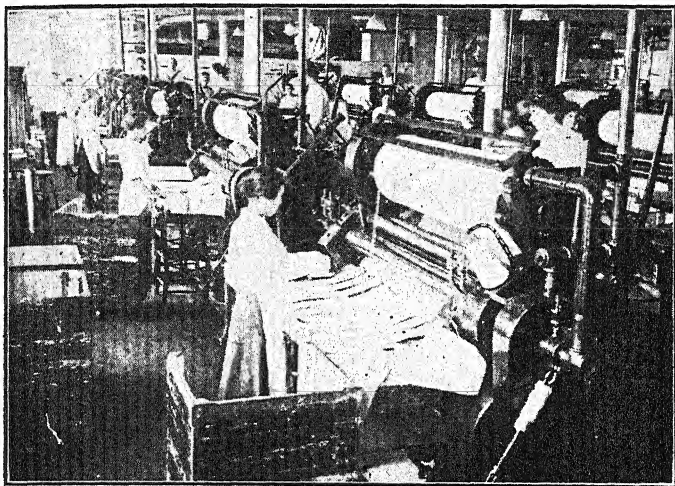
Copyright, Keystone View Co.

MANUFACTURE ON A SMALL SCALE, IN THE HOME, FORMERLY PREVAILED ENTIRELY.

possesses which he never could have owned under a system of small-scale production. The reason may appear from the explanation which follows.

In the process of supplying wants we have learned that four things are necessary: (1) Natural resources, (2) labor, (3) capital, (4) enterprise. In every pair of shoes, for example, there is so much of natural resources — hides, cotton, etc.; labor, both physical and mental; capital, tools and machinery; enterprise, risk, foresight, management.

It is evident that any method of manufacture which will economize in the use of any one of these four essentials will result in producing shoes at decreased cost. It soon developed that great economies in labor resulted from large-



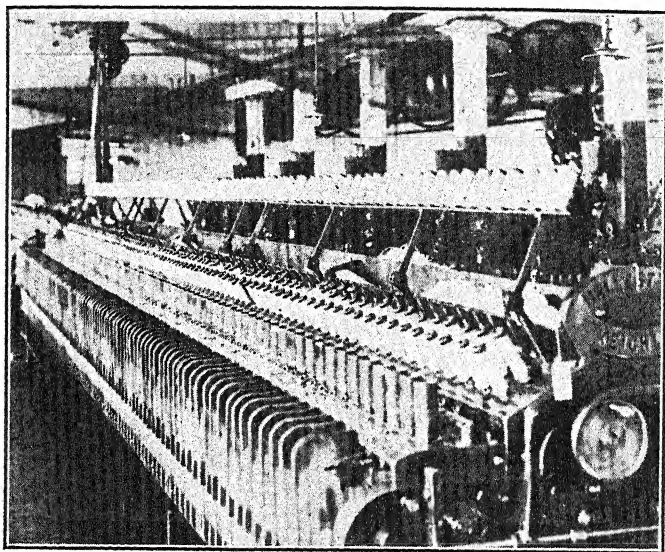
MANUFACTURE IN THE FACTORY. ON A LARGE SCALE, HAS TO-DAY LARGELY SUPPLANTED MANUFACTURE IN THE HOME.

scale production, due largely to the introduction of capital (tools) to take the place of labor. As examples of this the following is quoted from the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commission of Labor (1898):

The total time required for the production of 12 packages of 1 pound each of pins under the machine method was 1 hour and 33.9 minutes, as against 140 hours and 44 minutes required under the hand method, a ratio of about 90 to 1 in favor of the modern method. The hand-made pins were made in England by the labor of 12 persons and

finished in the United States by 5 persons, while 16 persons worked on the machine product. The machine-made pin is a much more desirable article than the hand-made.

The same report gives the labor cost on a pair of hand-made boots as \$4.08; by machine, the labor cost was 35



THE SPINNING-ROOM IN A LARGE COTTON-MILL WITH POWER-MACHINES —
THE OUTPUT IS GREATLY INCREASED AND THE COST DECREASED.

cents. The *labor cost* of a pound of yarn hand-made was 93 cents; by machine it was only 1 cent. In 1800 a skilled workman could make in a day about 30 needles. In 1900 a girl, with the help of a machine, could make in a day 500,000 needles.

It has been estimated that a hand-loom weaver could make from 42 to 48 yards of common shirting per week.

This same weaver could attend to 6 power-looms, the product of which would be about 1,500 yards. The production of the one weaver is thus multiplied 35 times by the use of power-machinery. On the hand-wheel a *spinner* could turn off 8 ounces of No. 10 cloth yarn in 10 hours, or 3 pounds per week. With the power spinning-mule it was possible for a spinner to produce about 3,000 pounds per week. Machine methods of production thus increased the productive power of labor in every field of manufacture, and in agriculture as well. As a result, the amount of all kinds of goods produced in every country which adopted power machines greatly increased. With an increase in the supply, there was a consequent decrease in the cost.

SECTION III — WEALTH GREATLY INCREASED

The Evidences of the Increase of Wealth. — The substitution of machines for man-power has made possible the production of more *goods*, and consequently has increased the wealth of the world greatly. By *wealth* is meant the total store of *goods* on hand at any time. In 1850 the United States Census estimated the wealth of the people of the United States at \$307.69 per person; in 1912 at \$1,965 per person; in 1919 at \$2,063 per person. It is scarcely necessary to consult figures, however, to prove that the wealth of people in our country has increased. The comfort of homes, the substantial character of buildings in every community, the increased comfort and luxury of means of travel, the magnificent means of amusement, the beauty of public buildings are all impressive evidence

of the great store of wealth which machine industry has developed. This marvellous productive power would not have been possible through muscle power alone; it was only by the use of great power-machines that such stores of wealth came to be.

PROBLEMS — SECTIONS II AND III

1. Pins are manufactured on a large scale. What is meant by *manufacture on a large scale*?
2. Mention some things which are manufactured on a small scale now; tell five things that are manufactured on a large scale.
3. Three important advantages of large-scale production are: (a) permits the use of expensive machinery; (b) makes specialization possible; (c) makes possible the use of by-products that were formerly wasted. Illustrate each of these advantages from a study of the work of a factory in your locality.
4. What is meant by "standardization of parts"? How has standardization of parts increased production?
5. Mention some goods which are within the reach of every one to-day which only the wealthy could possess fifty years ago. What made this possible?

SECTION IV — THERE WAS A CHANGE IN THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF BRAINS AND BRAWN

How Men Made Natural Forces Work for Them. —

The fact that goods came to be manufactured by the use of *engine power* lessened relatively the value of *muscle power* and increased relatively the value of *brain power*. It was a great step forward when men learned to use domestic animals to help satisfy wants. It was a much greater step when they learned how to harness *natural forces* for the same purpose. First there was control of falling water, then of the expansive power of steam, then of explosion of gases, then of electricity. Besides that, it

became necessary, of course, to have increased knowledge of the laws of pulleys, gears, levers, etc. After all, we can gauge the progress of a people, in a way, by the degree to which they have been able to make the forces of nature do their work. We should know, however, that in a country where natural forces are thus harnessed and developed men are in demand for their skill, and nerve, and ability to plan, rather than for physical power, which engines can largely supply.

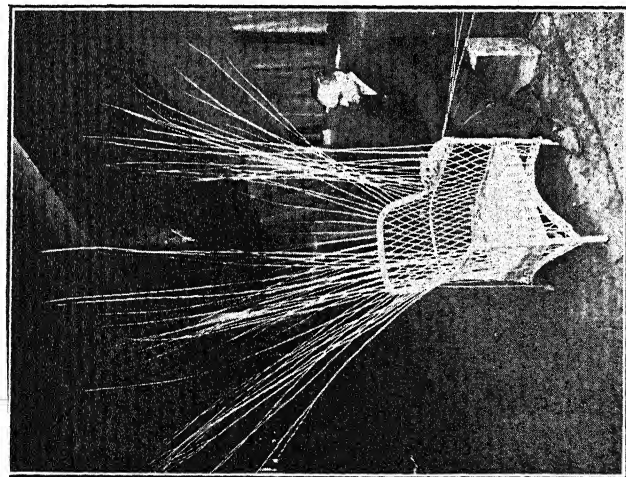
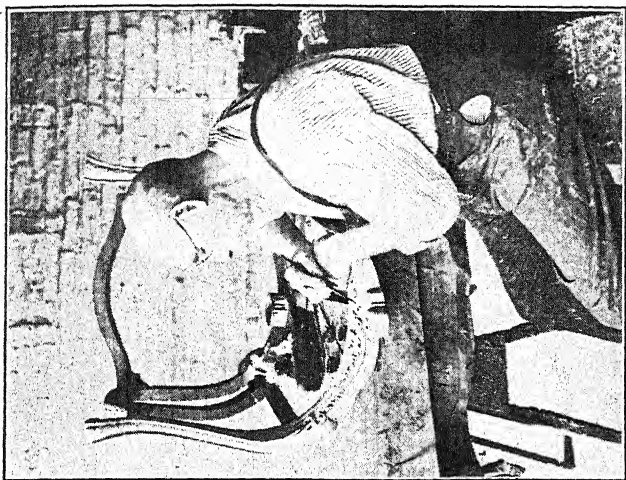
Could Slaves Do the Work of Engines? — In this connection, it is interesting to know that in 1919 the United States Census reports 29,507,117 horse-power used in manufacture. That is an amount ten times greater than the horse-power used in 1869 (the earliest date for which any estimates have been made). A simple explanation will make clear what these figures mean. Roughly speaking, a horse-power is the equivalent of the power which 10 men can develop. This equivalent, when applied to the 29,500,000 horse-power used in 1919, means that the engines of the country in manufacture alone (transportation, agriculture, etc., not included) develop a power equal to that which 295,000,000 men could develop — a number which is much greater than twice the entire population of the United States. The increase in the engine-power has made *muscle-power* of man quite insignificant, but it has at the same time made *brain power* of greater importance. It was only through scientific study of natural laws and of business development that natural forces have thus been made so useful.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. Does the substitution of automobiles for horses tend to decrease the price of oats? Does it tend to increase the price of gasoline? How?
2. How do you account for the fact that in reality the price of neither oats nor gasoline has changed greatly in the past years?
3. Were the qualifications for a successful pioneer in the early days somewhat different from the qualifications for a successful business man or civil engineer to-day?
4. Is the demand for human muscle on the wane? Explain. What are the demands that are being made upon the human machine to-day?
5. Even if we had them, could we support enough slaves to furnish the power for manufacture which our engines furnish for us?

SECTION V — MEN BECAME SPECIALISTS

The Jack-of-All-Trades Disappeared. — Labor-power has resulted from the elimination of the "half-mechanic and the half-farmer" by having each man do one kind of work and one kind only. Instead of a world of "jacks-of-all-trades," it is now a world of specialists. One man is all farmer; another all lawyer; another all mechanic, etc. In the manufacturing establishment described previously, one man is a specialist in production, another in selling, another in running an office. Others are experts in other ways. One is an expert on a lathe in a machine-shop, another in making "cores" in the foundry. This condition in industry is known as "specialization." Under the régime of home manufacture one man did the entire work on a pair of shoes, a wagon, or a piece of furniture. To-day any one of these articles is the product not of one man, but of many men working together. As a common example, no



SPECIALIZATION IN FURNITURE-MAKING.

A piece of furniture to-day is the result of many men, each a specialist in his line, working together.

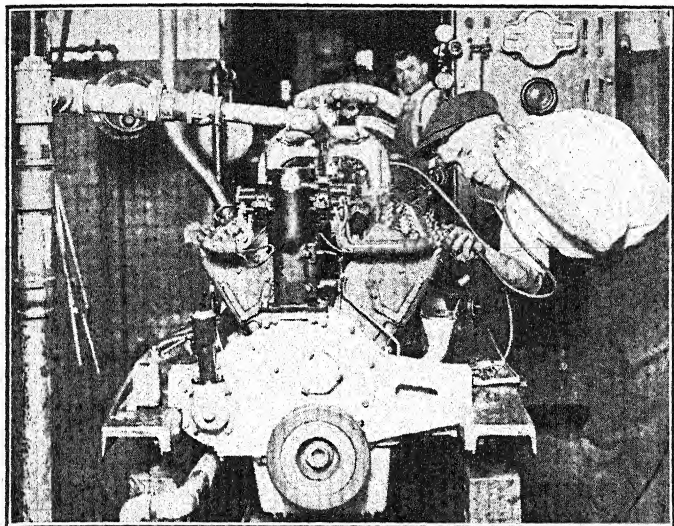
longer does one man do all the work in the process of half-soling a shoe in a modern repair-shop. One man takes off the old sole; another cuts out the leather for a new sole; another stitches it on, and a fourth "finishes."

Some Benefits of Specialization to the Community. —

There are some special advantages in having four men work on a shoe repair instead of having the whole work done by one. It is found that the four men can do more than four times as much work as one man working alone can do. Consequently, customers of the shop find it to their advantage. The job is done more quickly, and usually much better. The reason is easily found in the fact that each man becomes especially skilful in his job, and develops unusual speed and quality of workmanship. As a result of this increased production larger earnings should accrue, and usually do accrue to the workmen.

Specialization also makes it possible for the full labor-power of a community to be utilized. When it is necessary for a man to do many kinds of work, it is necessary for him to have all-round ability. A man who would lack in one faculty would be severely handicapped. A blind man, or a one-armed man, can do little on a farm where all-round ability is needed. By specialization we are able to find certain operations which do not require sight, and thus the labor-power of the blind is utilized. In this way specialization has resulted in putting to use all the various types of ability which exist in a community.

When Men Specialize They Must Become Team-Workers. — But in order that the community and the workers may gain from specialization, men must be willing to learn how to work together. It is evident that when four men



Copyright, Ewing Galloway.

THIS MAN, IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, IS EMPLOYED TO TEST THE MOTOR WITH A STETHOSCOPE FOR FLAWS.

each have a part in making a product, the work of workers Nos. 2, 3, and 4 depends upon the performance of No. 1. On the other hand, without the aid of 2, 3, and 4, the work of No. 1 would be of no value whatever. In this condition a man is responsible for more than his own welfare: he is responsible for the success, not only of himself, but also of all who are dependent upon him and upon whom, in turn, he is dependent. It is this lesson which the citizen in modern industry must learn first of all.

Specialization Divides Responsibility. — When manufacture is carried on by specialization, there is a chance that no one worker is going to feel responsible for the quality of the final product. It is very easy when working at a task which represents only one part of a process of manufacture to feel that one's work really does not count. Because no one worker can put his name on a product and say "I made that," he may not feel any particular pride in the quality of the articles as a whole. This may lead to inferior workmanship and, consequently, to a defective product. To prevent the results of this condition, many factories establish elaborate systems of inspection to make sure that every operation is well done. This, of course, adds greatly to the expense of manufacture, which expense must, in the end, be borne by the public and the good workmen in the plant.

Problems of Specialized Workers — Monotony — New Inventions. — The specialization which division of labor under large-scale production requires has certain hazards. It often leads to monotonous conditions of work. This tends to destroy initiative, and leads to one-sided growth of man, physically and mentally. On the other hand, any change in the development of machines makes necessary a corresponding change in the type of work which is necessary for their operation. Very frequently a change in a machine comes unexpectedly and without warning. It may do the work which was being done by a large number of men, thus throwing large numbers out of employment. These changes all machine workers always have to anticipate.

These hardships which changes in machines have worked in the past have led to serious opposition by workmen to the introduction of new machinery. It seemed that since the machines were the means of causing large numbers of workers to lose their employment, the machine was an enemy to workers. There are but few men who now take that attitude, for it has been found that, in the long run, the benefits of new machinery are lasting, while the hardships which come with its introduction are but temporary. The invention of the steam-shovel seemed to threaten unemployment for shovelmen. What really happened, however, was that a greater amount of excavation was made possible, more buildings could be erected, more railroads and canals built, and labor was in even greater demand than before. Labor-saving machinery only created new opportunities for labor, and for increased production of goods. The invention of the linotype caused a period of readjustment in the printing industry which temporarily caused wide-spread unemployment. However, it did not bring about a need for fewer workers, but, rather, it gave new opportunities for men. In 1869 the industry only employed about 130,000 workers; in 1919, over 240,000 workers were employed. The introduction of machinery, therefore, did not result in less work, but rather in more products — newspapers, books, and periodicals at a price which all could afford.

SECTION VI — THE WORKER BECAME AN EMPLOYEE

Why the Home Manufacturer Went to the Factory. —
The coming of great power-machinery made it impossible

for each workman longer to own his own tools; he became rather an employee, working with the tools of others. You will remember that in the description of the life in a Massachusetts town in 1798 there was the statement: "There were nearly a thousand people in the town at this date. They were nearly all husbandmen. What few mechanics there were were also farmers upon a large or small scale." The coming of power machinery changed this condition greatly. Men who are half-mechanics and half-farmers have now well-nigh disappeared. Let us see why.

The man who was in position to control a loom which could be operated by power could manufacture a yard of cloth much more cheaply than the man who still operated a loom by hand. As a consequence, the *power-machine weaver* sold his cloth more cheaply than the *hand-machine weaver*, and in the course of time the *hand-machine weaver* found the operation of his loom unprofitable. But the business of the *power-machine weaver* grew by leaps and bounds; as the market grew he added new machines; as new machines were added additional workmen were needed to operate them. And so it soon came about that it was advantageous all around for the *hand-machine weaver* to discard his loom and to go to work for the *power-machine weaver*. Remember that this change was going on in every line of manufacture. As a result, many men abandoned their simple tools to go into the employ of those who owned the great power-machines.

PROBLEMS — SECTION V AND VI

1. Would you expect to find more occupations in the present than one hundred years ago? Why? Mention some occupations which we have now which were not in existence a century ago.
2. Do you consider the work of a specialized worker easier than that of an all-round worker?
3. Can a specialized worker succeed without learning how to get along with other workers?
4. Is a man who works in a factory any more dependent upon the men *for* whom he works than the men *with* whom he works?
5. What is meant by the saying, "the cost of inspection must be borne by the public and the good workmen in the plant"?
6. Do you know of any occupation in which the work is very monotonous? What are the dangers to workers in such occupations?
7. Can you tell of any fields in which machinery has created new opportunities and demands for labor?
8. What are the new conditions under which the hand-machine weaver will work when he goes to work for the factory?

SECTION VII — THE EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE WERE
SEPARATED

The Separation of Owners and Workers. — The demand of the world for more goods brought about manufacture by machines; manufacture by machines made necessary the development of ownership by corporations. A study of the diagram, p. 95, of the plan by which a large corporation enables large numbers of owners and workers to work together on the manufacture of a product, discloses a new relation between employer and employee. Remember that 83 per cent of those engaged in manufacture work for corporations. Over half of the wage-earners in the United States in industrial plants are in establishments employing more than 250 wage-earners each. In a

small firm, with an owner who is himself the manager, employing a few workers, it is possible for owner and worker to work with a personal interest in one another's problems and a sympathetic understanding. In a large corporation the "distance" between owners and workers is vast. There is no possibility of personal acquaintance or of a personal understanding of each other's interests. Even the owners of a corporation have no personal acquaintance. The shares are sold wherever there are those who have savings to invest. The shareholders of a large railroad company reside in every country of the world. Many of them, perhaps most of them, have never seen the property which they own. On the other end of the scale are the workers. In the case of a railroad company they are scattered over a wide area; in a large manufacturing plant, although they may all be near together in their work, their interests are so different that they go through life as strangers.

It is this which leads to what we may call the *impersonality* of present-day industry. The purposes of industry do not centre in *people*, but in *things*. The only interest that a stockholder of a corporation can possibly have in a business that is a thousand miles away is the profit which it can make. In the same way, the only interest of the workman is in the wages he can receive. There cannot possibly be any personal interest of the shareholders in the workmen nor of the workmen in their employers.

There is, of course, one thing in which both are interested: the success of the business. Only when the business is successful can shareholders or workmen get anything from it. The wages of the workmen and the dividends of

the stockholders both must come out of income. If this is reduced, both stockholder and workman must take less.

Dividing the Earnings. — How the earnings shall be divided is the question upon which men fail to agree. There are two phases of the division of earnings: (1) Earnings must be divided between workers and shareholders; (2) the part of earnings which goes to workers must be divided fairly between the various classes of workers, *i. e.*, managers, foremen, machinists, stenographers, salesmen, etc. Both phases of division of profits are difficult to make *satisfactorily*. No problem before the world needs more intelligent and conscientious study than this. The first step toward its solution, however, lies in a general understanding of the relation between owners and workers in a corporation. If the relations are fully understood, the difficulties of solution will be understood, and even that much will help toward open-minded discussion of a better way.

SECTION VIII — GREAT CITIES GREW UP

The Worker Moved Near His Work. — We know that as great factories developed, they came to employ, not five men, nor ten, but hundreds and, later, even thousands. These thousands of workers could no longer live throughout the country, and work a loom part of the time and farm part of the time, but it became necessary for all of them to live near the factory. They could, of course, remain on the farm or go to the city and depend upon employment at the factory exclusively. To many the lat-

ter course seemed *most desirable*; to many it *became necessary* because the farm would not produce enough to meet the needs of the family. And thus about these factories grew great cities. The farms lost population while cities gained. This took place in every country with the rise of the factory system of production.

The Result. — This movement from country to city has entirely changed the conditions under which men work and live. The half-farmer, half-mechanic of an earlier day, owned his own tools, bought his raw materials for manufacture, sold the product himself. He produced his own food; within his family clothing was provided. But when he decided to move from the farm to work in the factory he gave up his own tools and decided to work with the tools of others. No longer could his family provide its own food, but it became necessary to buy it of a dealer, who had purchased it from a man who stayed on the farm; their clothing was purchased from a tailor or a merchant buying from a clothing factory. Either the tailor or the merchant could sell clothing to the workman cheaper than he could make it for himself. No longer was his family *independent*, but, rather, wholly and completely dependent. Not so dependent alone upon the employer, but to even a greater degree dependent upon other workers, such as the man who sells the meat and the man who brings the milk every morning. In the same way is this family now dependent upon the man who mines the coal, which runs the engine, which turns the machine upon which the workman makes his daily product. No longer does this man

work *alone*, but, rather, with an army of others in the group-way, and thereby the wants of the world are adequately supplied.

The Great Exchange. — Unconsciously, but none the less truly, society has been for some time exchanging industrial independence for more goods. More goods can be produced through co-operation, with the aid of great machines, than can be produced by hand. The great want of the world has been for more goods, *i. e.*, more products of great machines co-operatively operated. As between *more goods, through co-operative dependence*, and *less goods with utter independence*, society chose the former. The problems of a citizen in industry in this new state of affairs are not easy to understand or to solve. We would not wish, however, to go back to the inconveniences and lack of comforts of one hundred years ago; it is much better to work out ways of working together happily under the present system of living.

PROBLEMS — SECTIONS VII AND VIII

1. List some advantages that the hand-machine weaver would find in moving to town to work for the factory. What would be some of the disadvantages?
2. Were there any great problems of employer and employee before the industrial revolution? Explain.
3. Write out an explanation of the difficulties that stand in the way of either the owners (stockholders) of a corporation or the employee's understanding of the problems of the other.
4. What is meant by "the purposes of industry . . . do not centre in *people*, but in *things*"?
5. What conditions have made it possible for the food supply to

be adequately provided, although such a large proportion of the population has left the country?

6. Can the market for the products of the farm expand as rapidly as the market for the products of the country? Explain why?

7. Discuss three problems which arise from the crowded conditions of living which are the result of the growth of large cities.

CHAPTER IX

SPECIALIZATION OF CITIES

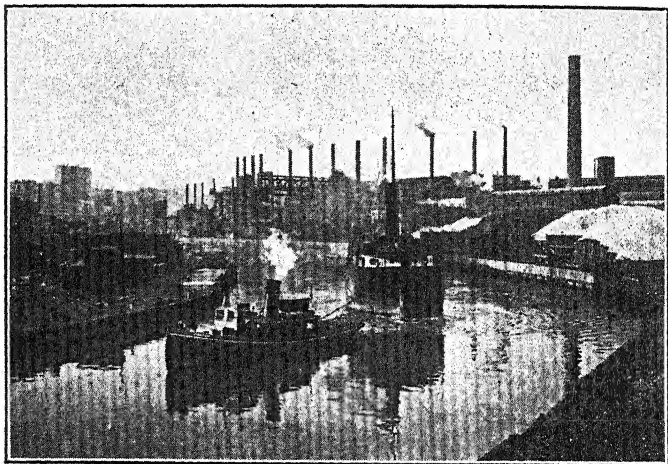
The rise of the factory system of production brought about *division of labor* between individuals in a community, and resulted in a new era, in which people are wholly dependent upon one another. But in addition to the dependence of individuals upon one another, the development of the factory has made whole communities dependent upon one another.

SECTION I — WHY CITIES SPECIALIZE

How a City Is Known for What It Produces. — Specialized work by individuals is made possible because of differences of talents, abilities, and interests of individuals. Specialization of communities comes about for much the same reason. For that reason it happens that because of advantageous location Minneapolis becomes known for its flour-milling; Kansas City for packing; Detroit for automobiles; Pittsburgh for steel mills; Troy, N. Y., for collars; Grand Rapids, Mich., for furniture. The question, "What is the principal industry of your town?" is just as usual as that which is addressed to an individual: "In what business are you engaged?"

Analyzing Industrial Advantages. — It is a great help in understanding the business interests of one's community to know the reason why a certain type of industry prospers

there. Two important things must be considered for the successful operation of any enterprise. In the first place, something must be produced; in the second place, it must be sold. It might be that two towns would have equal advantages for producing an article, but the town which



Copyright, Ewing Galloway.

CLEVELAND IS ONE OF THE CENTRES OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY.

would be most favorably located for marketing the product would develop more rapidly. There must be present or conveniently available, of course, the four essentials — resources, labor, capital, and enterprise. For assembling these four things no two localities are, of course, exactly equal. The secret of the success of an industry in one locality lies, however, upon some especial advantage with reference to one or perhaps more of the four factors named. The industries which will prosper in a community depend

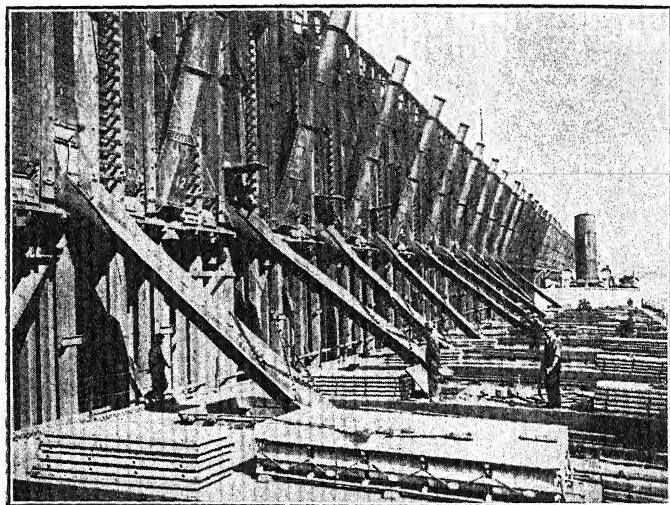
very largely upon whether the things necessary for manufacture can be readily procured.

Advantages in Natural Resources. — Since manufacture must begin with natural resources, these demand consideration first of all. A city must have these, either at hand or have means for getting them; otherwise, manufacture cannot succeed. Natural resources are of two kinds: first, those which will furnish *power* for the operation of machines — such as coal, water-power, petroleum, and natural gas; second, those which supply *raw material* from which manufactured articles are produced, including a wide variety of products of nature, such as animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, etc.; metals — iron, copper, lead, zinc; forest products, lumber, rubber, etc.

A consideration of the chief industry of a number of the cities of the United States shows how important the resources of a locality are in determining the activities of the people there. The great wheat production of Minnesota and the surrounding states gives Minneapolis and St. Paul a great advantage in milling; Kansas City was likewise favorably situated for packing.

Pittsburgh is an example, however, of a slightly different situation. In the development of the iron industry both coal and ore are necessary. Coke is the best iron-smelting fuel, and the coal of near Pittsburgh was particularly adapted to making coke. The same region was rich in iron, and, consequently, Pittsburgh became the centre of the world's iron industry. When, however, a richer iron-ore was discovered in the Lake Superior district, the su-

premacv of Pittsburgh began to be threatened. However, methods of transportation developed rapidly enough to permit of bringing the ore to the coal, and Pittsburgh has continued as an iron-manufacturing centre. Neverthe-



TAKING IRON ORE ON BOATS AT DULUTH.

less, the rise of new methods of manufacturing coke from cheaper coals has, to a great extent, affected Pittsburgh's natural advantage in iron production, and so the iron industry is spreading. Points on the Great Lakes to which the ore may be brought down on boats and the coal brought to meet the ore prove advantageous, as in the case of Gary, Indiana. Here is a case of a locality having no natural advantage except *location*, but this is, of course, of tremendous importance for its industrial development. Nearness to natural resources, or at least an easy way of getting

them, is a very important consideration for manufacturing. This does not mean that the other three essentials in production can be overlooked, but if natural resources abound in a locality the other factors will likely go to them.

Advantages in Labor Supply. — It may be that it is better to bring the resources to the labor supply than to take the labor to the resources. This is true in the case of rubber and also of cotton. Many times industries demand certain grades of labor which can be gotten only in connection with other industries already operating. For example, industries which can operate profitably by employing women and girls find it to their advantage to locate where large numbers of unskilled male workers are employed.

Advantages in Available Capital. — Again, the building of a factory or any other industrial enterprise depends, as shown in a preceding chapter, upon the existence of *savings*. Many times those who see especial opportunity in a certain locality will get people from far and wide to invest in the stock of a corporation. It is always an advantage, however, for a community to have savings close at hand which can be devoted to the establishment of new industrial enterprises. It is not uncommon to find a city's prosperity greatly increased by a thrifty population which had the means to establish new industries.

Advantages in Enterprise. — The element of enterprise is, of course, of great importance. A community in which there would be no one with any vision, or foresight, or energy in promoting new industry would never advance in-

dustrially. Very often communities without much advantage in resources, or labor supply, or capital have overcome handicaps because of the *enterprise* of its people. It is not always favorable location or great accumulated savings which make a city great, but, rather, the enterprise of far-seeing, energetic men.

Advantages for Marketing the Product. — The other side of success in manufacture, *i. e.*, selling the product, is, of course, just as important. It is a tremendous advantage in the production of an article if it can be sold in the vicinity of its manufacture. The selling and marketing of a product in a certain territory depends upon two conditions: (1) The wants of the people of the territory; (2) the ability which those people have to buy. It might be possible to manufacture a commodity in a wealthy community and find no sale, because people would not desire it; it is just as possible to manufacture something which every one wants but which none can buy.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. List twelve of the leading manufacturing cities of the United States with the aid of a geography or an encyclopædia; put down the chief industry of each city listed. Be able to describe to the class the commerce which is carried on between these twelve cities.

2. Study an industrial city (preferably your own or the one nearest you) on the following basis — (answer as nearly as possible):

- (a) What are the resources necessary to support its chief industries?
- (b) Are they found near at hand, or are they brought from a distance?
- (c) Does the city possess special advantages in the nearness to a fuel supply?

- (d) What kinds of labor are necessary for making the chief product of the city?
- (e) Are the industrial plants largely owned by local stockholders, or did some one come from away and develop them?
- (f) Where is the bulk of the product sold—locally, or at a distance?

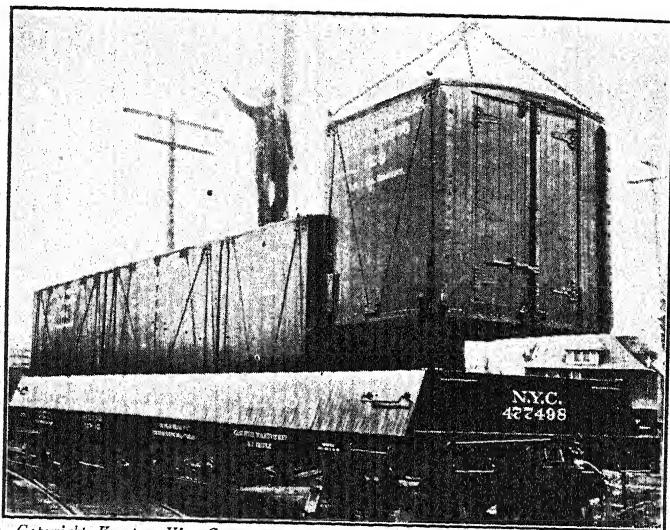
SECTION II — THE SPECIALIZATION OF CITIES INCREASED THE NEED FOR TRANSPORTATION

The Surplus of One Community Must Be Carried to Another Community. — The variation of the conditions mentioned above for different localities has led to a remarkable "division of labor" between communities. This condition did not always exist. There was a time when each locality produced everything which the people of that locality needed. Now a city which produces flour products may depend wholly upon the industry of another city for meat products and manufactured cloth. This makes it necessary that means of transportation be devised whereby the surplus product of one locality might be carried to a locality where there is a deficit in that product.

Detroit makes automobiles, Grand Rapids makes furniture, and Minneapolis makes flour. But Detroit needs both furniture and flour; Grand Rapids needs automobiles and flour; Minneapolis needs automobiles and furniture. It is this condition which has made the development of railroads, highways, and canals of increasing importance to the industrial life of to-day. When each community provided for all its wants, transportation was not so essential. When communities become dependent upon each other for the means of living, then life itself depends on

the means by which goods are carried from one place to another.

How Transportation Has Developed. — As a result of this development, there has been a remarkable increase in



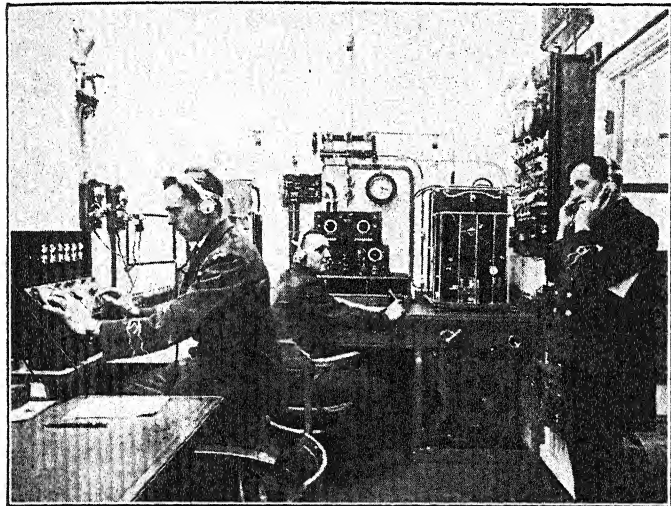
Copyright, Keystone View Co.

FREIGHT-CAR CONTAINERS ARE NOW USED IN TRANSPORTATION WHICH MAY BE LIFTED FROM THE CAR-FRAME AND LOADED ON TRUCKS FOR THEIR DESTINATION.

the demand for workers in transportation. In 1880 but 10.8 per cent of the total working population was engaged in trade and transportation; in 1920, 17.6 per cent. In 1830, 23 miles of railway were reported in operation in the United States; in 1920, over 225,000 miles. (In addition to this, in the United States there are 2,478,000 miles of public roads, 299,135 miles of which are surfaced.) These

are but a few facts indicating the tremendous growth of transportation as an important phase of our industrial development.

With the increased dependence of various communities upon one another, the need also arises for means of com-



Copyright, Ewing Galloway.

THE WIRELESS-ROOM ON A LARGE OCEAN LINER WHICH ALSO CARRIES A COMPLETE RADIO OUTFIT.

At the left is the Marconi compass, which enables the operator to determine the location of the ship in foggy weather.

munication of ideas as well as goods between these communities. To meet this need, there came the telegraph, telephone, and now the radio, whereby the affairs of any community are at once made known to all the world. Transportation of thought and ideas through these means has been of equal importance with the transportation of goods in the development of commerce.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. What is meant by the expression "good roads, railroads, etc., are the arteries of the nation"? Why were these agencies less necessary in colonial times?
2. It is recognized that without agriculture life could not be sustained. Is the same true of transportation under modern conditions of living?
3. Is it true that anything which will make it easier to transport goods from one place to another will promote prosperity? How?
4. Is there anything in this chapter which would indicate to you any reason for the rapid development of highways in recent years?

SECTION III — HOW SPECIALIZATION INCREASED THE
NEED FOR MEANS OF EXCHANGE OF GOODS

How Rise of Trade Created a Need for Money. — Specialization by communities calls for better means of transportation; at the same time it calls for better means whereby the product which one individual or one community produces may be exchanged for the products of another individual or community. For example, assume five men in a community — a shoemaker, a cloth-maker, a cattle-raiser, a wagon-maker, and a carpenter, who builds houses. The shoemaker will need the products of the service of all the other four. He makes more shoes than he can use, and must trade shoes for cloth, shoes for meat, shoes for a wagon, and shoes to the carpenter for his services. The cloth-maker must trade his surplus with the other four. But it is found to be difficult at times to make the exchange. Sometimes the shoemaker will need cloth, but the cloth-maker does not need shoes. Or the shoemaker will need a wagon, and the wagon-maker be-

believes a wagon equal in value to ten pairs of shoes. But the wagon-maker cannot make use of ten pairs of shoes. In these circumstances it is a great convenience to have one commodity which every one wants — a commodity which will measure the value of the products of the community, and which can readily be exchanged. It was such a condition as this which gave rise to the need for *money*.

What Is a Dollar? — Various things have been used for money in the past. Sheep once were the products by which men measured the value of everything else; peculiar shells have been used. But as time went on, men learned that *the one thing* which served the purpose of exchange better than anything else was *gold*. Gold therefore came to be the means by which the value of the commodities and services of people were measured and exchanged, and it is in terms of gold that all values in practically every country are measured and exchanged to-day.

In order to make the exchange of goods easier, it is necessary to establish a *standard* of exchange. Just as the foot or metre is the standard of length, and a bushel or gallon a standard of volume, so a *dollar* was established by law in the United States as the standard of value. The *dollar*, which is the basis of all exchange, is 23.22 grains of *fine gold*. It is in terms of this dollar that we measure the value of the services of people or the goods of a market. Other forms of money are in existence in the United States — silver, paper, etc., but in all cases merely as equivalents of the real dollar or fractional parts thereof. Now the maker of shoes exchanges his surplus shoes for *dollars*; with

those dollars he can buy cloth, or meat, or wagons, or the services of a carpenter, as his needs may require. This is the first service of money.

How Money Acts as a Tool. — There are some things about the service of money to society which should well be understood. Just because money is the means by which values are measured and exchanges are made, we should not make the mistake of thinking that money, of itself, has any peculiar power to add to the welfare or convenience of an individual or a community. Money makes it possible to trade readily, and for that reason it is a valuable tool in a community. The things which are of real importance, however, for the comfort and well-being of society are the four essentials of production already named — natural resources, labor, capital, and enterprise. By money we can measure the value of these and make exchanges. But it is through the proper use of the four essentials just named that we produce our wealth.

The Development of Credit. — The rapid development of commerce has made it necessary to establish methods of making exchanges which are even more convenient than by the use of money. To meet this need, products are exchanged by means of a *credit* system. Two firms, *X* and *Y*, buy and sell from each other daily. On a certain day *X* buys from *Y* \$1,000 worth of goods; on the same day *Y* buys from *X* \$900 worth of goods. At the end of the day's business *X* owes *Y* \$100. The next day *X* buys from *Y* \$1,400 worth of goods; but *Y* buys from *X* \$1,500 worth

of goods. So at the end of the second day's business neither owes the other. It might have been that when *X* bought from *Y* \$1,000 worth of goods, that *X* would have taken \$1,000 in money to *Y*; then when *Y* bought from *X* \$100 would have been paid back. The next day *X* would have given *Y* \$1,400, but *Y* would have given *X* \$1,500. To do all that, it would have been necessary to count out in all \$4,800, a considerable task in itself. In order to make that work unnecessary, when *X* buys from *Y* they both keep a record of the transaction, and perhaps at the end of the month one will owe the other. In that case, the firm which is debtor will pay the difference either in cash or by a check upon a *bank*.

What Is the Service of a Bank? — This brings us to an explanation of the place of the bank in our community life. These credit transactions which we have just described are taking place in the community between individuals and corporations in tremendous volume. It might be possible, of course, for each firm at the end of each month to have enough currency on hand to pay off any balances against it in cash, yet when all the business firms of the city are considered one can see how great an expenditure of energy it would be, and how much effort would be required in having the necessary currency carried from one business house to another. The situation can be compared to the use of a telephone. It would be an expensive thing to have one individual telephone line for each residence or business house with which one wishes to talk. The use of the telephone is made easy, convenient, and eco-

nomical by the existence of an exchange, through which all calls pass. As the telephone exchange simplifies the use of the telephone, so the bank simplifies the use of money and credit. Now, firm *X* keeps an account with a bank. It leaves all its money there; so does firm *Y*; so do all other individuals and business houses of the community. Then, when a period of trading back and forth has taken place, and time comes for a settlement, and balances are made up, *X* owes *Y* \$100, *X* merely authorizes the bank by a check to decrease his account \$100 and pay *Y*. But since *Y* is also keeping an account there, *Y* takes no money, but merely deposits the check, and thus has his account increased \$100. So it happens that a great volume of business can take place without any waste of energy in counting, handling, and transporting gold, or its equivalent. As the telephone and telegraph have made it possible to communicate through long distance without waste of time, so the system of credit working through banks makes exchange possible without waste of time or effort.

Transportation and commerce are of greatest importance, therefore, in the process of satisfying wants in this modern system of living. Specialization by individuals called for easy means of trading and, as a consequence, money and credit systems came into existence to meet the demand; specialization by localities called for easier means of transportation, and great railroad systems developed to meet that demand. Money, banks, railroads, canals, and highways have been powerful agencies in making possible our modern civilization.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Why is money spoken of as a *tool* of exchange? In what respects is it a *tool*?
2. Does a tool have any value except as a tool? Draw your conclusion and then see if the same thing applies to money.
3. Does money, of itself, have any want-satisfying power?
4. Define a *dollar*.
5. If, overnight, the amount of money which every one possesses would be doubled, how would prices be affected to-morrow?
6. Can prosperity be increased merely by increasing the amount of money in existence?
7. Can prosperity be increased by increasing the amount of goods in existence? (See former chapters.)
8. How does the use of *credit* exchange make trading easier? How has the bank simplified the use of credit?
9. From the facts of this chapter, how do banks and railroads help to produce more goods? Explain.

CHAPTER X

WHAT OF OUR COUNTRY'S FUTURE?

All production of goods must depend on the presence of four essential factors — natural resources, labor power, capital, and enterprise. The well-being of those who live in the present, as well as those who will inhabit this country in the future, depends on a wise and thrifty use of these factors. Only intelligent action which will properly use these essentials of production in the present will insure the well-being of those who will live in this land in the future.

SECTION I — WHAT IS CONSERVATION?

What the Term Includes. — We call the movement which encourages proper use of the essentials of production *conservation*. Conservation applies not only to natural resources, but to labor and capital as well. Conservation does not mean *no use*, but, rather, *wise use*. For example, when conservation of natural resources is discussed, it should be understood to mean *that use which will guarantee the greatest possible amount of wants satisfied from a given amount of natural resources*. Sometimes a great forest tree is cut down, and but a small part of the log is used; the remainder is allowed to rot. The limbs and branches all have a certain possibility for satisfying wants. There is no objection to using the tree for satisfying a want, but

there is good reason to protest against the waste of a large part of it. It is against waste and wrong use that conservation is directed — waste and wrong use not only of natural resources, but of labor and capital as well.

Why Conservation of Resources Is So Important. —

Waste of natural resources is particularly serious, however, for of the four essentials of production these cannot be replaced by human efforts. Coal, iron, petroleum, natural gas, and the minerals, when removed and used, deplete the fund of nature's gifts, and no efforts that man can make will replace them. The fact that we depend upon them for the satisfaction of our wants makes it so necessary that we learn to prevent their waste. We have already learned that as we advance in civilization we grow *no less independent* of the earth. The good citizen is the one who will think not only of what our America may be to-day, but also of what she may become in the future. Waste of resources now will result in poverty and want for our nation in days to come.

What Theodore Roosevelt Said About Conservation. —

Theodore Roosevelt, when President of the United States, did much to emphasize the need for a policy of conservation. In May, 1908, he called a conference of governors of all the states and territories of the United States to discuss questions concerning conservation of natural resources. In opening the session, President Roosevelt spoke of conservation as "the mightiest problem now before the nation, as nobody can deny the fact that the natural resources



A CLASS IN STUDY OF SOIL IN ONE OF OUR NORTHWESTERN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES.

of the United States are in danger of exhaustion if the old wasteful methods of exploiting them are permitted longer to continue." And further he said: "As a people, we have the right and duty second to none other but the right and duty of obeying the moral law, of requiring and doing justice to protect ourselves and our children against the wasteful development of our natural resources, whether the waste is caused by the actual destruction of such resources or by making them impossible of development hereafter."

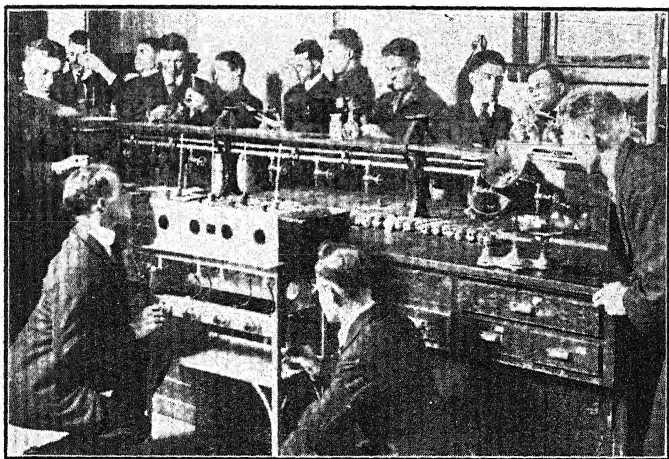
PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. In Chapter IV there is the quotation — "He who thinks not of himself primarily, but of his race and of his future, is the new patriot." Does that apply to conservation as well as to education?
2. Give two examples which will make clear the real meaning of "conservation" as defined in the text above.

3. Should conservation be practised with respect to all of the essentials of production? Why? Give examples to illustrate.
4. What justification was there for President Roosevelt's saying that conservation was "the mightiest problem before the nation."

SECTION II — SOME NATURAL RESOURCES WE SHOULD GUARD

Soil. — The natural resource which first of all needs intelligent attention is soil. Upon the fertility of the soil depends the satisfaction of the want for food, and in great part for clothing and shelter. When a plant is grown upon soil the plant takes from the soil certain qualities. If this process continues for a period of years, the time surely will come when plants can be produced only with great difficulty. In no way is this different from the condition of a person who would endeavor to live from savings, and make no effort to replenish the fund. To meet this diffi-



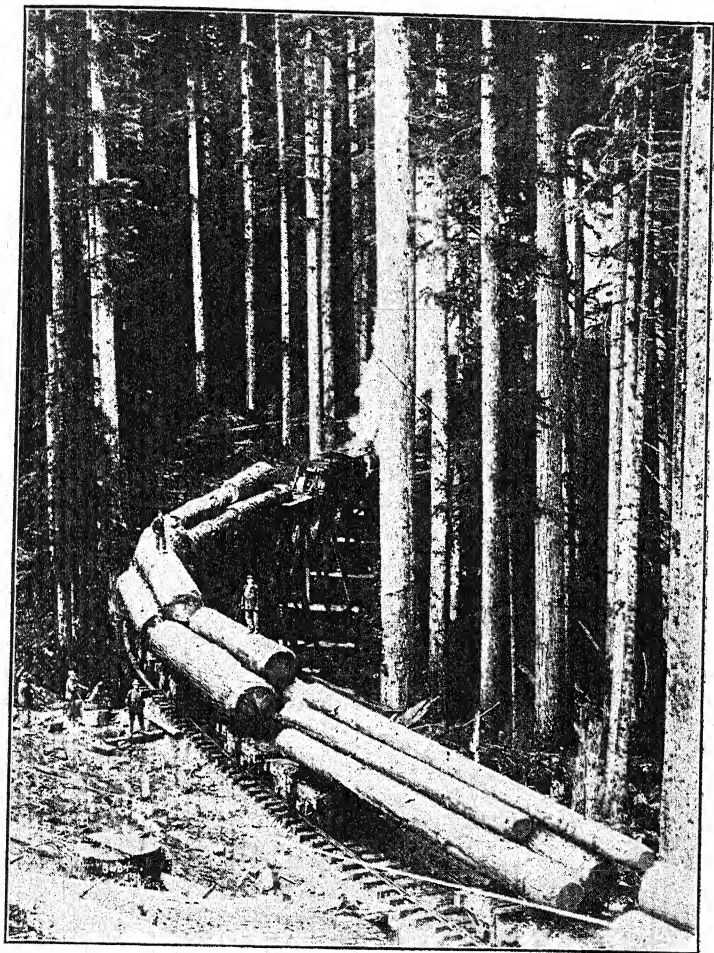
EXPERIMENTING WITH CORN IN THE LABORATORY OF AN AGRICULTURAL
COLLEGE.

culty, scientists are studying methods of farming which will produce crops and at the same time conserve fertility of the soil. No service to our society can be greater than that which will discover and put into practice such treatment of soil as will insure an adequate fertility of the soil for the needs of the future.

Forests. — The wasteful destruction of forests has already brought about a condition which has resulted in a scarcity of lumber. The following is a description of certain methods which have been practised and which are responsible for the increasing scarcity of the lumber supply.

In the Maine and New Hampshire forests thousands of men spend the winter cutting the forests of the choicest lumber and destroying young growing trees on every hand in their haste to get ready for the high water in the spring. All the big, sound trees of a desirable species are cut without regard to their surroundings, withdrawing the necessary shelter from a crop of seedlings. Here, men are felling all the seed trees, so that there will be no reproduction; there, cutting the best section from the fallen timber and leaving the tops and boughs and parts of the trunks to dry and rot and litter the forest floor with highly inflammable rubbish. Those parts of the timbered forest that do not degenerate into mere brush grow a thin second crop of very inferior lumber, and sooner or later the inevitable spark, dropped by the locomotive or the camper or the lumberman himself, finds its way into the refuse, and what is left of a thousand acres or a thousand miles, as it may be, of woodland, goes up in flame.

Such methods as these make lumber increasingly scarce. Some of the most desirable woods of the United States are



A LOGGING TRAIN IN AN OREGON FOREST.

Most of the standing timber of the U. S. has been exhausted because of wasteful methods.

already nearly exhausted. White pine, so useful, and once regarded as inexhaustible, is now uncomfortably scarce. On account of its disappearance, lumbermen are now obliged to classify as "pine" all sorts of pine not highly estimated: Southern yellow pine, jack pine, pitch pine. Once only oak, hickory, elm, ash, walnut, cherry, maple, and birch were considered usable; now cottonwood, beech, sycamore, and all other woods that will saw into boards are added to the list.

The results of the wasteful methods of treating the lumber resources of the nation are felt not only directly in an increasing difficulty in the procuring of lumber, but also indirectly in the ill effects of the destruction of the forest upon soil. Beneath the trees of a forest a thick mantle of leaves and twigs covers the ground. All this material is like a sponge in absorbing water. This restrains the rapid movement of water to the streams and tends to prevent floods with their terror and destruction. At the same time, it prevents the washing into the rivers of the rich top soil, so necessary to the production of food. Millions of dollars' worth of this rich soil is annually washed into our rivers — a loss which can in part be charged to the cutting away of the forest.

Coal. — Of the resources which supply power for manufacture, coal is of first importance. (Petroleum, natural gas, and water-power, of course, are valuable additions to the nation's power supply.) At the present time at least 80 per cent of the power for our factories, railroads, etc., comes from the use of coal. Conservation of natural resources

for power purposes, therefore, is concerned with coal first of all. Despite the tremendous amount of coal consumed by our industries, the coal resources of the United States are but touched. The available accessible coal supply has been estimated at 1,922,979,000,000 tons. In 1918, 582,000,000 tons were mined; at that rate, the supply of coal is assured for centuries to come. But coal is becoming increasingly difficult to get; the better grades are already being displaced by poorer. This calls for attention to economical methods of mining and to wise use of that which we do consume. Perhaps it is in the latter direction that special attention should be directed. Over 8 per cent of all coal used goes up the chimney in smoke. Not more than 15 per cent of the actual heat units of coal is transformed into power in the steam-engine. In the process of making light from coal, by burning coal, making steam, transforming the steam into electric energy, and then transforming that into light, not 1 per cent of the available energy of the coal is transformed into light. Here is a field for scientists to devise more economical methods in order that the consumption of coal may be reduced in the interest of the future.

Natural Gas. — The most perfect fuel which nature ever gave to man was natural gas. But it was found too soon, *i. e.*, before men had learned how to appreciate its value sufficiently to conserve it. It is the one fuel which has been most flagrantly wasted. Whole districts have been practically exhausted in a few decades. Many wells which were drilled for oil disclosed gas in great quantities. The

wells were abandoned, the gas lighted, and allowed to burn, sometimes for years. Doctor Van Hise estimated that in one gas-field alone some 70,000,000 cubic feet per day of gas were wasted, without doing any good to anybody. This was sufficient to light ten cities the size of Washington, D. C. Professor I. C. White, of West Virginia, estimated that the waste of gas in that state was at one time equivalent to the waste of coal at the rate of a car a minute, "not for one week only, or for one month, but for twenty years, a 45-ton car of coal had been dumped into an abyss from which it could never be recovered."

Petroleum. — The petroleum resources of the United States are a matter of especial concern. From petroleum come those products which are best suited to the internal-combustion engine. The increased use of the automobile and tractor has made the demand for petroleum products tremendous. There is little question that the supply of petroleum is in serious danger of exhaustion. This will demand the use of substitutes for petroleum in every way possible. In the field of lubrication it seems that petroleum is unexcelled. We should make sure that the supply for this purpose may not be endangered in the interest of the future.

The Metals. — The metals which industry requires do not present such serious problems as the fuel ores. Fuel ores once used are gone. The metals, when extracted, in many cases can be used over and over again. Their variable supply is, in the case of most metals, adequate to the needs of industry for all time to come. While the

highest grades are on way to danger of exhaustion, there are possibilities of new discoveries which will furnish industry with a plentiful supply for years to come. Nevertheless, waste should be avoided. The gathering of scrap-iron so that it can be worked over, is a real service in the field of conservation.

Copper is a metal which, because of its high degree of usefulness for transmission of electrical energy, is of greatest importance. It is said that the supply of high-grade copper ore is in danger of exhaustion within a century. The uses which are made of it, however, do not destroy it, therefore the supply will increase rather than diminish. Aluminum, a metal which is abundant without limit, may be used as a substitute for copper for electrical purposes. The development of electrical energy for power purposes need never be hampered, therefore, for need of metals for its transmission.

The uses to which lead and zinc are put by industry places each in the class with coal, in that they are destroyed by use. One-third of the lead of the country is used for paints. A large amount of zinc is also used in the paint industry. Both metals are increasingly used in electrical work, and in such ways as to consume them utterly.

How We Waste. — In the field of conservation and wise consumption every person can practise practical patriotism. "Not standing armies nor imposing navies will guarantee national strength or domestic peace; that country will be the leader of all which possesses natural resources in greatest abundance." And what an abundance

we have: "Land enough to allot to each person of our population about 1,750 acres, with Alaska and some islands to spare." But while Germany grows 28 bushels of wheat per acre and England 32, we grow 14. According to Mr. Hoover, of a whole potato crop of 390,000,000 bushels, only 40 per cent reached the market, and that in a year of foreign famine and unprecedented prices at home. We cut 40,000,000,000 feet of merchantable lumber annually, but waste 70,000,000,000 feet in so doing. Enough yellow-pine pulp-wood is burned or left to rot to make double the tonnage of paper produced in the United States. Forest-fires in Minnesota in 1918 burned an area half as large again as Massachusetts, destroying more than 25 towns, killing 400 people, and leaving 30,000 homeless. The flood damage of the Mississippi has exceeded \$100,000,000 in a single year. On the other hand, "it is estimated that the loss by breakage and wastage in the marketing of eggs in the United States amounted to \$50,000,000 annually." The experts of the Department of Agriculture report that dietary studies made by them point to an annual food waste of \$700,000,000 from failure to use food not consumed. Practical common-sense patriotism will provide means for making America retain her place among the nations of the world by preventing this waste, so unnecessary and so deadly.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. With the wealth of natural resources which we have in America should we be the richest nation in the world?
2. Do you know of any methods by which men are conserving the fertility of the soil while raising an abundance of crops? Describe.

3. Do you know of any section of our country where the fertility of the soil has been much reduced?
4. To what States of the Union can we look for our supply of lumber in the future?
5. With such cheap methods of transporting *power* in the form of electricity, do you think that we are wasting coal in hauling coal?
6. Do you think that when men waste natural resources as they did natural gas, they should be restrained by the government?
7. Are there any possible substitutes for petroleum for power? For lubrication?
8. Suggest remedies that might be adopted to prevent each kind of waste mentioned above.

SECTION III — CONSERVATION OF LABOR-POWER

But national strength lies in human resources as well — and what of these? It must be clear that the labor-power of a nation depends not only upon number of people but also upon the efficiency of individuals. Efficiency depends, first of all, upon health and strength; second, upon mental ability; third, upon moral qualities, *i. e.*, honesty, industry, reliability, etc.

Accident and Sickness. — In this connection, the first waste is in accident and sickness. "Safety first" is not a personal but a patriotic duty. A nation of cripples would be helpless. But the records of accidents in our country are alarming. Estimates as to the number of fatal industrial accidents in the United States yearly range from 75,000 to 95,000; the number of injuries annually involving a disability of more than four weeks at approximately 700,000. These figures read like the record of a bloody war, but they merely represent the toll which industry ex-



SAFETY DEVICE FOR THE MACHINE WORKER WHICH PREVENTS MANY ACCIDENTS.

acts as the price of "the war against want." Part of this is preventable; much of it is, of course, unavoidable. The first obligation on the part of our citizens is to look toward prevention; the other is to work out satisfactory means of caring for those who are left destitute because of the death of wage-earners, and to restore to health and usefulness as quickly as possible those who are injured. Laws have been

passed in most states by which workmen receive compensation which cares for them and their dependents in case of injury. For those who are seriously injured, methods are being adopted for *rehabilitation* of the injured. Through rehabilitation, should a man lose an arm in an occupation requiring two arms, he may receive training for an occupation in which two arms are not needed. By these means the burden of the loss of life and working efficiency for the industrial accident is lightened.

Child Labor. — Another waste of human resources arises from the evil results of the labor of children before they are sufficiently mature. We call this *child labor*. Public opinion, expressed in law, has made a distinct protest against this condition. In a book entitled "Industry in England," Henry De B. Gibbens says: "From five years onward it was the custom to employ them (children) from about five o'clock in the morning till as late as ten at night, during the whole of which time they were on their feet, with a short interval for dinner. The children were generally cruelly treated, so cruelly that they dare not, for their lives, be too late at their work in the morning. One witness stated that he had seen children, whose work it was to throw a bunch of ten or twelve cordings across their hands and take them off, one at a time, so weary as not to know whether they were at work or not, and going through the mechanical actions without anything in their hands. When they made mistakes in this state of fatigue they were severely beaten by the spinner whom they helped, or by the overlooker."

That is, of course, a description of child labor in one of its worst phases. Boys and girls who are compelled to go through those experiences cannot become strong men and women. While the above was a description of conditions



CHILD LABOR IS A GREAT WASTE OF HUMAN RESOURCES.

in England, much the same thing has taken place in American factories and mines. For the future of America it should stop. A man who would poison an army in time of war would be proclaimed the blackest of traitors; a man who will willingly permit any condition to exist which will endanger the strength of America's citizenship of the future, will some day be considered in the same light.

Indolence. — But the greatest waste of human resources lies in the undeveloped powers of American men and women. With every opportunity for development of tal-

ents and abilities, thousands of boys and girls are passing their years in idleness of mind and body, with no sense of responsibility for becoming able to do work which will be of benefit to their community. In the years of the Great War we learned to speak of each one "doing his bit." The man who had a vacant lot was expected to make it produce food; he who had money was expected to lend it to the country; the man with strong body and clear mind was expected to train and drill and be *prepared* to fight for the great cause. Then the man with strong body dared not lie in his tent and permit his abilities to be undeveloped. The country would not hesitate to brand him a "slacker." But a nation is just as dependent on the strength of men in time of peace as in time of war. The struggle for food and clothing and shelter demands trained minds and strong bodies. The fight for justice requires clear thinking from intelligent men. With all this so necessary, how do America's boys and girls prepare themselves for the future? Sometimes we have reason to be somewhat discouraged. With every opportunity available, of one hundred boys and girls who enter the first grade in school only twelve stick to it long enough to finish high school. Some of those who drop out learn to be valuable citizens by learning while they work. But in the case of many there is no evidence of effort to prepare for greater usefulness. From such facts as these we must measure our citizenship, its loyalty, its willingness to add to our country's strength, and its readiness to do really patriotic service. The boy who has but half developed his powers has not done his full duty to his country.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Suppose you consider men in industry as engaged in a war against *want*. Do accidents handicap the *industrial army*? In what way?
2. Explain why the public has a reason to be interested in compensation for injured workmen; in rehabilitation of injured workmen.
3. How would child labor, if permitted, affect the military power of America in twenty years? Give examples.
4. In time of war the nation expects all of its citizens, men and women, boys and girls, to give their best efforts to the country's welfare. Should the nation expect as much of its good citizens in time of peace? Why?
5. Is there any similarity between a man who refuses to train to be a good soldier and a boy who will not take advantage of school? Why?
6. What are the responsibilities of a student citizen in the matter of conservation? Explain fully.
7. Do you believe that there is, in the above, a suggestion as to how we may test true patriotism?

SECTION IV — WISE USE OF CAPITAL

The Patriotism of Saving. — We have mentioned above the idea of conservation as applied to natural resources and to human resources. Shall capital be conserved also? We have already learned that capital is but the tools by which goods are more rapidly produced: our stoves, pots and pans, pens and pencils, machines, factory buildings, railroad-cars, water systems, etc. Were these taken from the world we would be living like savages. It is clear that these are necessary for our welfare, and that the more we have of them the more goods we can eventually enjoy. But these tools come into existence through *plan* and *fore-*

sight and *saving*. The more tools America has, the more prosperous we are. Even war of to-day is a war of machines. Tools are necessary for national welfare in every way, and tools and machines result from saving. It is in this respect that saving is a patriotic duty.

What Shall Be Done with Savings? — But how do savings become tools? Very often through the investment of savings directly in an industrial enterprise. A new water-plant is to be built. It will require pipes and pumps and steam-shovels. It will cost \$5,000,000. If 50,000 people have each saved \$100, through purchase of shares the water-plant can be built. Savers will become investors. "He who selects for purchase the kind of tools which are needed to set labor to work and to provide the necessities of life, is a great benefactor." On the other hand, a water company in operation may need more pumps and lines than it already has. It decides to borrow the money. It goes to a bank to borrow \$100,000. Presume that on the day before a thousand people have deposited \$100 each as savings. The bank can lend the money, the new lines can be laid, and more people can enjoy the benefits of running water. It is from savings, great and small, that a nation's industries can be developed. If each pupil could save \$5 a year and put it in a savings-bank, the country could have the use of \$100,000,000 more of tools each year. A nation of spendthrifts would reduce America to poverty and humiliation before the world. A nation of wise investors will make her rich and powerful and prosperous.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. If you buy stock in a concern which has no chance of success, do you violate the principles of conservation?
2. If you would place your savings in a hole in the ground, would you be doing your bit in adding to the country's industrial prosperity? Why?
3. "Thrift has four aspects: earning, saving, investing, spending." Explain how each of these has a bearing upon true thrift.
4. "The thrifty nation prospers while the thriftless nation remains in poverty." This being true, show how the practice of thrift is an important part of good citizenship.

PART III

THE CITIZEN IN GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XI

THE BENEFITS OF GOVERNMENT

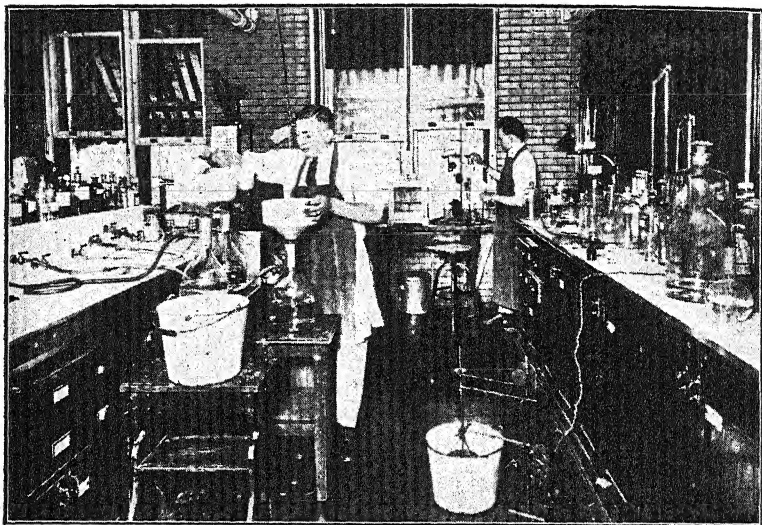
In Chapter II six classes of group activities in which an individual may take part were discussed. Thus far only some of the important facts concerning the *group-way* in school and in industry have been studied. The chapters which follow will deal with *government* — its development, its service, its plan of organization, and its relation to the five other forms of group life in the community.

Why is it that with five other forms of group association men establish government? It is due to the fact that there are certain benefits which can only be secured through an association of *all* the people of a given locality or territory (town, city, township, state, nation), regardless of any other form of association that they may have. In government all the people of a given territory become a *group*, co-operating in doing for themselves those things which neither home, school, church, nor industry could do. Let us find out what these are.

SECTION I — PROTECTING LIFE AND HEALTH

How Government Protects Life. — The first service, perhaps, which comes to mind is that of protection of life. Savages group themselves by tribes and by co-operation are able to protect themselves from an enemy tribe.

Within the tribe itself, there may be some who would take the life of other members; the tribe consequently works out plans whereby the life of many in the group may be pro-



SCIENTISTS OF THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE INVESTIGATING THE DIGESTIBILITY OF FOODS BY MEANS OF AN "ARTIFICIAL STOMACH."

tected from the few who are dangerous. People in the modern day do the same thing.

In pioneer communities men rely upon their own weapons for the protection of their lives. But men who are compelled to give half their attention to protection of life cannot get much accomplished. The people of an entire area join together and designate certain persons in the community who shall protect life, and thus let all other men go about their business without interruption. It is



Copyright, Keystone View Co.

GOVERNMENT INSPECTION OF A BAKERY.

but another example of *division of labor* in a community. We find that through this plan we make our lives much more secure, and that we do it much more easily and at less expense than if each person assumes the responsibility for his own protection.

How Government Protects Health. — The family of one hundred years ago could very easily care for its own health; if its food was impure, that was the family's own fault. But to-day, with the food of the family in a modern city coming from thousands of miles away, handled by hundreds of persons, the only safeguard of its purity is rigid public inspection. Especially does this apply to meats and milk. On the other hand, in any densely popu-

lated community, contagious disease is a serious enemy to health. Such diseases can only be cured by prompt and effective measures (quarantines, etc.) by public officers. In no other way can the health be made even reasonably safe. In 1898 Havana, Cuba, had a death-rate of 1 person to every 12. At that time the city had open sewers, to which flies, mosquitoes, rats, etc., had ready access. Unsanitary water and food were common and contagious diseases went unnoticed. The United States Government took charge of the town. A sanitary system of sewage disposal was installed. A pure water-supply was found. Those with contagious diseases were quarantined, and breeding-places of mosquitoes were destroyed. In recent years the death-rate has become normal, or about 15 persons per 1,000. No other agency could have taken care of that situation so effectively as a government.

How Government Protects from Accident. — The modern conditions of living place all persons in a community in danger from accident. Public conveyances, such as railway-trains, street-cars, elevators in large buildings, all create hazards of life that must be reduced as far as possible. As a consequence, provision is made for competent inspection of these publicly used means of importance. In fact, all buildings which are in any way publicly used must meet the conditions set up by competent government inspectors, in order that the dangers from accident may be reduced. In every community there is need for various forms of public inspection which will safeguard citizens from dangers which they themselves cannot foresee.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. In what way is it a matter of economy for the people of a community to turn the task of protection of life over to designated officers (police, etc.)?

2. Very few discoveries and inventions are made in countries where life is not made secure by government. How do you account for that fact?

3. Mention three problems of protection of your own health which you cannot solve without the co-operation of your government official.

4. Mention three ways in which the dangers of accident have increased within the past one hundred years. Can any individual by his own power protect himself against accident to-day?

5. Tell of some different forms of *inspection* which have been made necessary to safeguard life and health of citizens to-day.

SECTION II — ESTABLISHING LIBERTY AND JUSTICE

How Government Increases Liberty. — It may be that some one will ask, "How does government establish liberty and freedom?" "Is it not true that government restricts liberty?" Government really is the foundation for all liberty. There can be no liberty for men in group organization without law which results from government. There is no place where liberty is so restricted as in a community where there is no law. In a community without law there is no freedom to come and go without taking every precaution for the prevention of life; when darkness falls every one closes the windows and doors and remains inside. Every form of degenerate is free to injure society as he wishes; those with contagious diseases mingle with those who are well, unmolested; in no way can one feel free. But in a community where government is established, men go about as they wish, knowing that the established agen-

cies of government are making conditions such that true liberty is possible.

How Government Establishes Justice. — And what of the establishment of justice? When there is no law only might makes right. Through law, however, standards of right are established just like standards of measure. The group formulates means of action which will advance the welfare of the group as a whole; after these rules are made known, all members of the group are expected to obey them and violators are punished. In such a society the weak have a chance with the strong. In such a community men live according to determined standards of right and justice.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. Point out three different ways in which liberty is increased by government.
2. Suppose three men, A, B, and C, have equal liberties. A increases his liberties so much that, as a result, B and C lose their liberties. In such a case, should A be restricted? If by restricting A, B and C would keep their liberties, would the restriction of A increase or decrease the amount of liberty in a community?
3. Can you give an example of the way in which lawbreakers decrease the liberties of a community?
4. As a usual thing, will law declare anything which is for the welfare of the whole community as *right*?
5. Why should it not be that *might makes right*? What should make *right*?

SECTION III — ESTABLISHING PROPERTY RIGHTS

Could There Be Property Without Government? — One of the fundamental principles of American life is the right

of the individual to own property. Americans consider the desire to own property a worthy desire and one that should be encouraged. In order that one may consider something as "his property," it is necessary that there be a government to uphold his claim. In communities without government, it is possible for a person to *possess* something, but he cannot call it *property*. Property only exists with the sanction of *government*, and, consequently, there cannot be such a thing as private property unless there be government. This may be illustrated thus: *A* has in his possession a book; *B* wants the book; if *B* is strong enough to take the book from *A*, the book will then be *B*'s possession; but *C* may be stronger than *B*, and, consequently, the book will pass into the possession of *C*. Under such circumstances, the only factor in determining who shall possess the book is strength. But if there be *government* — government will ask *A*, "How did you get the book?" If *A* proves that the book came into his possession according to the rules by which government says he can own it, then *A* will have at his command all the combined power of all his government to prevent *B* from taking it from him.

How Good Government Increases the Value of What We Own. — This explains the important relation between good government and property values. Of two equal tracts of land of equal fertility, one south of the Rio Grande, in Mexico, one north of the Rio Grande, in the United States, the one to the north of the river would now command the higher price. The reason lies in but one fact — the person own-

ing the tract in the United States would have back of him all the power of a strong government to support his claim. The person owning a tract in Mexico would have back of him an unstable government — one that even might change its rules of ownership very suddenly. Government in this respect performs a most valuable service to every one by setting up the rules by which one may own, and then by protecting the rights of property.

How Government Protects Property. — Government not only establishes the right to own, but it does very much for the protection of property. Police officers, sheriffs, etc., are charged with the duty of seeing that property is not damaged; equipment is provided, particularly in cities, to guard property from damage by fire; and, in cases where the property of one man is damaged by another, the laws and the courts will see to it that the loser is reimbursed.

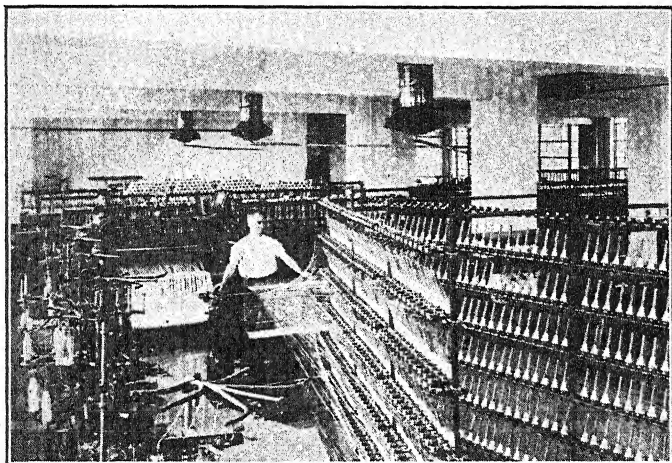
PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Explain the difference between possession and property.
2. Why should the desire to own property be encouraged?
3. Would a man sacrifice in order to own property in a country where the government might change overnight?
4. Could any other group organization except government establish the right to own property? Why?
5. What different officials in your community are engaged in the protection of property?

SECTION IV — ESTABLISHING STANDARDS OF MEASURE; EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS; CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

(a) **Establishment of Standards of Measure.** — Government is a necessary agency for the establishment of units

or standards of measure. Without such a service no commerce would be possible. Most standards of measure in the United States are established by the national government, thus making it possible for persons in one part of the country to buy products from another part without



Copyright, Keystone View Co.

TESTING THE STRENGTH OF YARN AT THE U. S. BUREAU OF STANDARDS.

misunderstanding. For instance, a *foot* is declared by federal law to be the distance between two marks on a platinum bar in the Bureau of Standards in Washington, when the bar is a temperature of 0° Centigrade. To that constant standard all measuring types and rods are expected to conform. As a result, the length of the yard of goods which one will purchase in California is exactly the same as the length of the yard one will purchase in New York. This uniformity, which can only come through

government, is very essential to the commercial prosperity of our government.

(b) **Public Education.** — People have not always agreed that education is the rightful responsibility of government. Some people have believed it should be provided by the home, others by the church. It is the belief to-day, however, that whether a boy gets an opportunity for education is the concern of *all* in the community. His development is of interest to the whole nation. Either in industry or in war, the mental development of the youth is a matter of vital importance. We find in practically every community in the United States a large proportion of the public expenditure going to the support of schools.

(c) **Care of Unfortunates.** — One of the tests of civilization is the willingness of the strong to aid the weak. That is an accepted principle of our government. As a result, vast sums of money are spent for the support of institutions where unfortunates may be cared for — insane-asylums, epileptic institutions, almshouses, sanitariums, etc. In the same class come those with criminal tendencies who are not safe or sane. For them there must be penitentiaries, jails, workhouses. These are a terrific expense to the people; for example, in Indiana in 1921 nearly \$7,000,000 was expended on such institutions (this was the total cost for state, county, and township); the total value of all taxable property at the same time was approximately \$6,000,000,000. To care for the unfortunates of the state consequently cost about 12 cents for each \$100 of property

that is taxed; it levied a charge of \$2 per person on each man, woman, and child in the state.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. Name all the *standards of measure* of which you know. How long is a foot? How large is a bushel? How much is in a gallon?
2. How would commerce be affected if standards of measure were changed every year?
3. Draw up a statement of reasons why schools should be supported by government. Do the same for libraries; for museums. Draw up a statement of objections. What are your conclusions?
4. Do you believe it is a good test of civilization as to whether the strong will aid the weak?
5. Find out what public agencies there are in your county for caring for the unfortunates.
6. At one time the care of the unfortunates was administered by the church. Do you think it better for unfortunates to be cared for by government? Explain.

SECTION V — PUBLIC WORKS

Why Government Builds Roads, Bridges, etc. — Building roads has an important part in the industrial development of a country, as was explained in Chapter IX. Although roads have always been considered of importance to the public welfare, there was a time when their improvement was left to private enterprise. Private business organizations would be given permission to improve a road and then charge a "toll" to all who would use it. That method was not satisfactory, however, and as a result practically all improvements of roads, streets, bridges, etc., are made by some unit of government. Some people believe that every utility which is in use by the general public should be owned and operated by the government; others

believe that nothing that can be satisfactorily owned and managed by private enterprises should be owned by government. All settlement of that controversy depends on determining which plan of ownership will best serve the public welfare. To decide that question finally will require years of experience with both methods. This is the problem of future treatment of public utilities — telephone, telegraph, light plants, water companies, street railways, etc. Some city governments own their own water and light plants and street railways. On the other hand, many have privately owned corporations to operate them, believing that the city government is already performing sufficient duties.

PROBLEMS — SECTION V

1. Why was the method of having roads built by private enterprise and having a " toll charge " unsatisfactory?
2. Are there any things being done in your community by government which could be done as well by private business concerns? If so, discuss.
3. List the public buildings in your local community — township, town, or city. State the unit of government which built each.
4. Find out as near as possible the total cost of the public improvements in your community in the past ten years — roads, schools, etc. Are they all paid for?

SECTION VI — PROVIDING MEANS FOR PROMOTING THE COMMON WELFARE

What Is the Common Welfare? — Anything which proves to be of concern to all the people of a community may come to be operated by government. Thus we find that the national government runs the post-office; in an emergency it took over the railroads; it may appropriate

funds for dredging a river; it may protect the nation's industries by establishing tariffs which keep out the goods manufactured in foreign countries. Our local or state government may build roads, parks, buy athletic equipment for a community. As time goes on and new conditions arise which are of concern to the public at large, we turn to government as the group organization which can solve these problems in the interest of all.

But we must not forget that we are discussing government with the idea that it is "*government of the people, for the people, and by the people.*" It is difficult for an American to think of government as existing for any purpose other than to bring benefits to the people. That idea of government has not always prevailed, however. In centuries that have passed, governments were managed by kings for purely selfish purposes. The idea then was not *government for the people*, but rather *government for the king*. The story of developments which brought about government *by the people* which would insure government *for the people* is briefly told in the chapter which follows.

PROBLEMS — SECTION VI

1. Do you believe government is doing too much or too little for people in your community?
2. Should government have power to do the following in the interest of the common welfare: provide health instruction in the schools; run moving-picture shows; regulate housing conditions in a city; buy swings and slides for a park?
3. Name some things which government is called upon to do today for the common welfare which the common welfare of the people of fifty years ago did not demand.

CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

On Election Day a man was overheard telling a friend that he did not have time to vote. The friend replied: "I'm sorry; I fear that you have forgotten the efforts that men have made in the past in order that you might have that privilege to-day." The condition which prevails in America to-day, which permits every person of the age of twenty-one years and above to have a voice by his vote in the affairs of his government is too often unappreciated. It is far different from the state of affairs which prevailed over much of the world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when governmental affairs were controlled by the selfish rule of kings. It is the purpose of this chapter to review some of the events which have been important in taking the powers of government from the hands of kings and putting them in the hands of the people.

In the movement for free government the people of England, France, and America were among the most active of the peoples of the world. We are interested, of course, in how we Americans got free government, but we should understand that the events which took place in Europe laid the foundation for both the thought and the action which gave us the kind of government we have to-day. The story of the struggle for democratic government could not be told in a volume; it may be possible, however, to

tell of some of the outstanding characters and events which should be remembered in order to appreciate those who gave us our heritage of freedom.

SECTION I — WHAT WAS "DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS"?

What the People Were Taught to Believe. — It should be kept in mind that the people of mediæval times were taught to believe, and did believe, that a king ruled because of a divine right to rule. Of course, the kings did all they could to encourage the people in that belief, and would greatly favor writers and teachers who would include that doctrine in their teachings. The people were told that kings were persons who had been designated by God himself to act as his representative; therefore the will of the king was the will of God. With that belief in mind no person of that day would dare disobey the edict of a king for fear that divine punishment in some form or other would be visited upon him. With such ideas prevailing, the king held absolute power in his hand, and his subjects gave him unquestioning obedience. The king was above all law, he was subject to no authority, and for no act could he be punished. As an illustration of an expression of the idea of the divine right of a king, the following is a statement by James I in the English Parliament in 1609.

Kings are justly called gods, for they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power on earth; for if you will consider the attribute to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or

send death, to judge all and to be judged nor accountable to none, to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings; they make and unmake their subjects, they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death, judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects, like men at the chess, a pawn to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects, as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of his subjects.

Government by Kings Was Government for Kings. — With such ideas prevailing, one would expect the government to run without much regard for the welfare of the masses of people. Such an idea of government would result in great splendor for the king at the expense of the people, no matter how poor they might be. But gradually the people of the world awakened to the game which the kings were playing and either the king's power was limited or the king was removed altogether. It happened that the people of England limited the power of their king before his measures became too oppressive, and so the change of power from king to people was gradual. The protests of the American colonists against the arbitrary taxing power of an English king, George III, with "divine right" ideas brought on the American Revolution and American independence. In France, under the kings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the people were forced to endure every kind of privation in order to pay

the taxes which the maintenance of the royal court demanded; finally, in desperation they too revolted, beheaded their king, Louis XVI, in 1793, and established a new form of government. A few of the most striking developments in the movement toward democracy in England, France, and America will be discussed briefly.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. If you had been taught from babyhood that the king was a man appointed by God to rule, do you think it likely that you would believe it? What conditions would tend to make you disbelieve it as you would grow older?

2. What powers did James I of England say a king possessed which were like God's powers?

3. Wherein is the idea that "the voice of the people is the voice of God" vastly different from the idea that lies back of the divine right of kings?

4. If government *by the people* is government *for the people*, what would government *by a king* be?

SECTION II — THE RISE OF FREE GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

The Magna Carta. — The story of the limitation of a king's powers in England begins with the signing of the Magna Carta, or Great Charter, in 1215. Up until that date English kings had ruled without limitation upon their authority. The will of the king was supreme. But the barons (*i. e.*, lords over small divisions of territory within the king's realm) became dissatisfied with the method by which the king exercised his power. Consequently, in June, 1215, the barons met with King John at Runnymede, and compelled him to sign an agreement with them which

has since been known as the Magna Carta. There were two provisions of this agreement, or charter, which are of especial importance. First, the charter provided that no tax could be imposed by the king, except by the consent of his subjects. Second, no free man could be imprisoned, except according to law. It is evident that the king *had been* imposing taxes without any consent from the people; also that he *had been* imprisoning whomever he wished, even without cause. Both of the provisions of this agreement, as well as others, were of importance in themselves, but the great importance of Magna Carta lies in the fact that *no longer was the king supreme*. From that time on *law was superior to the king*, for he had bound himself to conduct his acts according to the provisions of law, Magna Carta.

The Petition of Right. — But the progress from absolute rule by a king toward government by the people was slow. At later periods power was greedily seized by selfish kings despite Magna Carta, and the rights of the people were totally disregarded. England had her first truly representative parliament in 1295, in which persons duly chosen from different parts of the realm were called together to make laws for the kingdom. The power of the people gradually increased, despite the objection of kings. In 1628 England had a king, Charles I, whose selfish and high-handed methods called for a second pronounced limitation on the king's power. Charles I, like King John, was forced to sign a so-called Petition of Right. While it was formally called a "petition," it was, in reality, a bold declaration.

In this document Charles was compelled to affirm his willingness to accept the restrictions upon the king as stated in the Magna Carta, and, in addition, to grant certain other rights to the people.

The Petition, among other things, declared: "*Enforced billeting of soldiers*, trial by martial law, loans or taxes not imposed by parliament, and imprisonment without a specific charge" were illegal, and should not be permitted in the future. By signing this agreement, the king admitted that the power of the king was on the wane.

The Bill of Rights. — Just sixty-one years after the acceptance of the Petition of Right, as a statement which set forth the restrictions upon the king, the people of England again had occasion to state their rights. The reigning monarch, James II, had proved himself unfriendly to the will of the majority of his subjects. The English people, through Parliament, chose to invite William of Orange and his wife, Mary (daughter of James II), to rule as sovereigns. But, as a condition of their right to rule, the British Parliament required them to sign a *Bill of Rights*, which should state explicitly the *rights* of the ruler and the *rights* of the people. The Bill of Rights had in it all of the provisions of the Magna Carta and the Petition of Right. It specified particularly that the people should have the right of assembly, of free speech, and of petition. All of these were important for the sake of liberty for Englishmen. The same rights are important for us, and in the constitution of many states of our Union these same rights of the people are declared.

In these three documents, written at wide intervals in English history, and under different circumstances in each case, the people of England find the basis for "the rights of Englishmen." These three documents mark important epochs in the long struggle of the people of England for "constitutional government," *i. e.*, government by *law* instead of government by a king. It is very evident that in a country where kings believed as James I, no man could feel safe for either his life or his property. The first essential of freedom, then, was to take the power from the king and place it in the hands of the people or their representatives.

The American Revolution and the Power of English Kings. — But even after 1688 there was a king in England who made attempts to exercise the divine right. Such a one was George III, who came to the throne in 1760. He had been taught by his mother to do one thing when he became king — to recover the royal power and to rule without the restrictions of a Parliament. In carrying out his policy to prove himself king, he imposed many injustices upon his subjects, and particularly upon the American colonies. The unreasonable policy of George III toward his subjects in America was highly disapproved by many prominent men in England, who pleaded with the king, for his own sake and that of England, to treat America with greater reasonableness. Lord North, the prime minister, wrote to the king in 1779, that "he held it in his heart, and had held for the past three years . . . that the war in America must end in ruin to his Majesty and the

country." Many Englishmen felt that the American colonies were fighting the battles of Englishmen at home. The king had a majority in Parliament which gave support to his actions, and not until 1780 was it that "John Dunning obtained a majority in the House of Commons for a resolution reaffirming 'that the influence of the crown has increased and is increasing, and ought to be diminished.'" It was not, however, until 1782 that enough of a majority against the king was secured in the House of Commons to force the king to yield. The victory of the colonists over the king's soldiers in America had its effect in creating this majority, and, consequently, had contributed greatly to the progress of the English people toward democratic government. The story of American liberty is thus closely woven with the story of English liberty.

How the Rights to Vote Were Extended — The Reform Bill of 1832. — But, although the victory for government by representatives of the people had been won, there was still another serious weakness in the scheme, so far as the *people* of England were concerned. But few men had a voice in the choice of representatives. A law of the fifteenth century, which provided that members of the House of Commons should be elected from the counties by the votes of the holders of freehold land of the annual value of forty shillings still prevailed in the nineteenth century. Since the fifteenth century the whole system of living had changed; many had given up their land holdings and moved to town. According to the old law, this removal at once lost them their right to vote. The old law further stated

what towns might send representatives and how many each town could have. But large new towns had arisen. Small villages like "Galton with seven voters, and Tave-stock with ten voters," each sent two members to the House of Commons, while large cities like Manchester and Birmingham could send none. "Ninety members were sent by forty-six places with less than fifty electors each." Such a situation had to be changed in order that English people at large might have a voice in making their laws. A Reform Bill, providing for a reform in the *system of representation* and for new qualifications for voters was introduced in Parliament in 1830, and after two years of struggle was passed in 1832. In its main features the bill gave the right to large towns which were formerly not represented in Parliament to have representation. In the towns the vote was given to all householders paying a rental of ten pounds a year. Thus was the right of taking part in the government extended to large numbers in England who previously had not had the privilege.

The Reform Bill of 1867. — In 1867 another Reform Bill was introduced and passed. This bill again lowered the property qualifications for voting, providing that *all* occupiers of houses could vote; likewise occupiers of lodgings paying a rental of ten pounds annually. Similar reductions were made for those living in the rural districts, and as a result almost a million new voters were added. By this act the number of persons in England who were qualified to vote was almost doubled.

The Reform Bill of 1884. — Another Reform Bill in 1884 practically eliminated every form of property qualifications for voting, and the right to vote made almost universal for all males over twenty-one years of age, with but few exceptions.

The Law of 1918. — In 1918 the right to participate in government was again extended. By the "Representation of the People Act" all property qualifications for voting were swept away, giving the right to vote to all males of twenty-one years of age and above, and to all women of thirty years of age and above. It also provided for representation of districts of the county according to population, giving one member of the House of Commons for every 70,000 in Great Britain. This act added 37 new members to the House of Commons and 8,000,000 to the number of voters, including 6,000,000 women.

There is a wide gulf between the government of King John in 1215 and the government of King George in 1922. From the Magna Carta in 1215 to the "Representation of the People Act" of 1918 was a long and devious road. This story has mentioned but very few of the important events in that 700 years of history. In all that time one great change has come about. The rights and duties of the king have become the rights and duties of the English people; the full responsibility for making the government promote their own welfare depends upon the ability of the people to run the government wisely.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. From what you have learned, in which respect was Magna Carta of the greater importance: for what it said or for the *principle* which it represented? What was the principle which Magna Carta represented?
2. Name the three documents mentioned in this section which are declared to be the basis for the rights of Englishmen.
3. Could you guess why the word *loans*, which is not in the Magna Carta, is included in the Petition of Right?
4. From the statements in the text above, list the rights of the people which were mentioned in the Magna Carta, Petition of Right, and Bill of Rights.
5. Get a copy of your state constitution, and find out if some of the same rights named in the three English documents are in the Bill of Rights of your state. Write out a comparison.
6. Why should any one say that in the American Revolution the American colonies were fighting the battles of Englishmen at home? Explain.
7. Were the English people really *represented* in Parliament prior to 1832? What things did the Reform Bill of 1832 *reform*?
8. What difference is there to-day between the voting qualifications in England and in America?

SECTION III — THE RISE OF FREE GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

The Luxury and Extravagance of French Kings. — The story of the rise of free government in France is not one of change by slow progress, as in England, but of change by violent revolution. By revolution we mean a sudden overthrow of government and other institutions. We have learned how the power of the king in England had been limited in 1215 by Magna Carta. No such movement took place in France at such an early date. In France the

power of the king remained absolute and unquestioned, and the common people suffered great injustices until the latter part of the eighteenth century. In the reign of Louis XIV, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the magnificence of the king's court increased to almost unbelievable splendor. The kings lost all sense of responsibility for the welfare of the people, and became interested only in surrounding themselves with every conceivable form of luxury. The king's court at Versailles became the envy of every monarch of the world, and well it might. A palace with hundreds of rooms, with chapel, theatre, dining-halls, salons, and endless suites of apartments for its distinguished occupants, the royal family, its hundreds of servants, and its guests — the palace itself cost the equivalent of \$100,000,000 in our money. It was placed in a setting of walks and drives and gardens, in which were statues and fountains and lakes which had been procured at tremendous cost. The court was composed of 18,000 people, perhaps 16,000 of whom were attached to the personal service of the king and his family, 2,000 being courtiers, the favored guests of the house, who were engaged in a perpetual round of pleasures. The king, the queen, the royal children, the king's brothers and sisters and aunts, all had their separate establishments under the spacious roof. The queen alone had 500 servants. The royal stables contained nearly 1,900 horses and more than 200 carriages; the annual cost of this service alone was the equivalent of \$4,000,000. The king's table cost more than \$1,500,000 annually. In 1789 the total cost of all this riot of extravagance amounted to not far from \$20,000,000!

Thus were the kings of France living in the days of our Washington and Adams and Franklin.

The Misery of the People.—Of course, all this luxury had to be paid for by the people in taxes. The population of France was in three classes: nobles, clergy, and commons. The kings of France had never been powerful enough to force the clergy or nobles to contribute to the support of the realm, and consequently the great part of the expense of the nation had to be met by the commons, especially the agricultural population. The king's sole interest lay in getting money from his subjects, no matter how unreasonable or burdensome a tax might be. As a consequence, the French peasants were living in dreary hovels, with no vestige of opportunity or means for pleasure or enjoyment. In contrast with the splendor of the king's court, read the conversation of Arthur Young, an English traveller, who gives an account of a conversation with a poor peasant woman whom he met in 1789.

Walking up a long hill to ease my mare, I was joined by a poor woman, who complained of the times, and that it was a sad country. Demanding her reasons, she said her husband had but a morsel of land, one cow and a poor little horse, yet they had a franchar (forty-two pounds) of wheat and three chickens to pay as a quit-rent to one seigneur; and four franchar of oats, one chicken, and one franc to pay another, besides very heavy tailles and other taxes. She had seven children, and the cow's milk helped to make the soup. "But why, instead of a horse, do not you keep another cow?" Oh, her husband could not carry his produce so well without a horse; and asses are little

used in the country. It was said, at present, that something was to be done by some great folks for such poor ones, but she did not know who nor how, but God send us better, *car les tailles et les droits nous écrasent* (for the taxes and feudal rights are crushing us).

This woman, at no great distance, might have been taken for sixty or seventy, her figure was so bent and her face so furrowed and hardened by labor, but she said she was only twenty-eight. An Englishman who has not travelled cannot imagine the figure made by infinitely the greater part of the countrywomen in France; it speaks, at the first sight, hard and severe labor. I am inclined to think that they work harder than the men, and this, united with the more miserable labor of bringing a new race of slaves into the world, destroys absolutely all symmetry of person and every feminine appearance.

And so in France there were the great extremes: on the one hand, the luxury of a king's court, the like of which the world had never seen; on the other hand, thousands of peasants living in abject poverty. But all this magnificence was purchased with the suffering of the thousands of peasants upon whom rested an almost unbearable burden of taxation.

The Service of the Philosophers. — In such a state of affairs it is not surprising that the minds of the people were ready to receive the doctrines of those who were advocating a reform of the government. Certain brilliant writers, spurred on by the evidences of suffering of the people, were trying to awaken the people to the unreasonableness of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Two writers, in particular, whose powerful arguments hastened the re-

volt of the French populace deserve mention — Rousseau and Montesquieu. Rousseau, among other things, wrote a book entitled "The Social Contract." In this book he asked this vital question: "By what right does one man rule over another?" Of course, the king would have answered: "By divine right." Rousseau, however, wrote to prove that one man ruled over others only because those whom he ruled had chosen him for a ruler. That meant that the king was a servant of the people, and therefore subject to their will.

Montesquieu, writing at the same time, published a book called "The Spirit of Laws." In this book the author showed that the changing conditions of society demanded changing form of government. A government that might be adapted to one age would be wholly unsuited to another age. He argued that government should meet the needs of people at any given time, and that the form of government should conform to those needs. Of course, it was already evident that the government of France was not meeting the needs of the people. Consequently Montesquieu's book confirmed the populace in the idea that they owed to themselves and to their children to secure a form of government that would be suited to their age.

The great service of writers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau lay in clearly showing the unreasonableness of the theory of the divine right of kings, and awakening the people to the possibility of government by the people.

The Revolution and Reorganization. — The extravagances of the French kings had been going from bad to

worse throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The expenses of the government, and particularly of the court, mounted higher and higher, and to meet them new taxes were imposed upon the people. But, with the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI in 1774, it became evident that the government was on the verge of bankruptcy; the people were being taxed to the utmost that they could pay. Additional taxes could not well be collected, and still the king persisted in his wasteful methods. The governmental income was far less than its expenditures, and, although the king's advisers warned him that the safety of the country lay only in strict economy and reductions of expenditures, he refused to change his manner of living. Finally, however, he was forced to concede that, of himself, he could not increase the taxes. He called a council of representatives of the three classes of people from over the realm, called "Estates General," in 1789. It was the king's intention that the Estates General should deliberate and then recommend new measures for increasing the government revenue. When the Estates General assembled affairs took a rather unexpected turn. Instead of discussing new forms of taxation, they began to discuss a new form of government. A constitution was eventually drafted which provided for a *constitutional government*, with definite restrictions of the king's power. The king was compelled to accept this constitution much as had King John in England in 1215, almost 600 years before. But the change did not stop with that. The people were calling to mind all the injustices of the years that had gone; the king, on the other hand, in an attempt to save his throne, sought

the aid of other monarchs to defeat the will of the people to control the government. Then came the great Revolution, and with it the Reign of Terror. Louis XVI was tried for treason, found guilty, and beheaded. In the course of time the government was changed from a limited monarchy to a republic and a constitution was adopted in 1795. The republic, however, was short-lived, and in 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte succeeded in having himself crowned Emperor of France. Napoleon was ambitious to become ruler of all Europe, but his power did not last long. Bonaparte was finally defeated at the battle of Waterloo by an allied army of England and Prussia in 1815. He was then banished to the desolate island of St. Helena.

France from 1815 to 1852. — The history of France since Napoleon is marked by swiftly moving developments. With the banishment of Napoleon Bonaparte, the European allies placed upon the French throne Louis XVIII, a brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI. Louis XVIII, soon after assuming the crown, issued a Constitutional Charter, which gave to the people of France a large measure of opportunity for self-government. In 1824 he was succeeded by his brother, Charles X, a wilful and haughty character, whose ideas were not unlike those of George III of England, whom we have mentioned before. Charles X said that he would rather chop wood than be king on the same terms as the king of England. In 1830 he abolished the rights of the people which had been guaranteed in the Constitutional Charter. A short time later the city of Paris was in the hands of insurgents, and Charles was de-

posed. By a strange turn of events Louis Philippe was placed on the throne, the Constitutional Charter was revised, and its provisions accepted by the new king. The liberty of the people was thus again assured.

For eighteen years Louis Philippe reigned as a limited monarch. In 1848, alarmed by discontent among those who advocated a strictly republican form of government, he abdicated. A National Assembly, which had been elected by the people, drew up a constitution which provided for a President, to be chosen by the people. Strange to say, at the first presidential election on December 10, 1848, the people elected Louis Napoleon, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte.

The Events Leading to the Present Form of Government. — Louis Napoleon was a shrewd politician, and by a skilful handling of affairs he was successful in securing such control of things that in November, 1852, by popular vote, and with an overwhelming majority, he was proclaimed Napoleon III, Emperor of France. The republic of 1848 was thus abolished, and within four years the monarchy was again restored. From 1852 to 1870 Napoleon III ruled France as a monarch whose power was but little restricted. In 1870 a short but decisive war broke out between France and Germany. The French forces were badly defeated at the battle of Sedan, on September 1, 1870, and the emperor himself was captured. The French people, thus left to reorganize their government, elected a National Assembly, which assembled February 12, 1872. After some time a definite form of government

was established through the enactment of a series of laws which constitute the present constitution. The present form of government provides for a law-making body of two houses: a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. Members of both houses are elected by the people. A President of the republic is elected by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The President of France has little power, however, as the active control of the government is in the hands of the prime minister, the leader of the majority party in the Chamber of Deputies. In the election of members of the Chamber of Deputies every man of twenty-one years of age and above is permitted to vote. In this way the people of France control the affairs of their government.

There is an interesting contrast between the development of free government in France and in England. England began limiting the rights of her kings in 1215, and by gradual development gave increasingly larger powers to the people. France waited until 1790 to begin to limit the powers of her kings, but with rapid strokes she soon cut away the king's powers, and at the present time the liberties of Frenchmen are practically as broad as those of Englishmen.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. From what you have read, were French kings collecting taxes for any purposes which would help the people? Is that different from the uses to which taxes are put in our country to-day?
2. How do you think that the writings of Rousseau and Montesquieu had a part in contributing to the freedom of the French people?
3. How many changes in form of government has France had since 1815?

4. Is the government of France now a monarchy, a republic, or a pure democracy?
5. What is the great difference in the method by which free government developed in England and in France?

SECTION IV — THE RISE OF FREE GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

Colonial Traditions of Liberty and the Ideas of King George III. — But in the world struggle for free government, it fell to the lot of America to assume a position of leadership in developing a form of government which placed the control of public affairs in the hands of the people. The American colonists were of the sturdiest stock of Europe. They represented a class of people who were willing to assume great risks for the sake of their welfare and that of their children. It is inconceivable that among such brave folks there was any considerable belief in the divine right of kings. European nations, from the time of America's discovery, had been engaged in sending out exploring expeditions to American territory, and the kings would then lay claim to all the territory explored. In this movement England had an active part. It was thus that the English kings laid the foundation for their later control of the colonies that were established along the Atlantic seaboard. But the colonists, separated from the mother country by weeks of perilous travel, were free to develop institutions according to their needs, with but little interference. They lived in a manner that was creating among them traditions of liberty and freedom that would never die. In this way they lived for over a century. But when King George III came to the throne, with his ideas of re-establishing the

unlimited authority of the king in English life, trouble began. His unreasonable impositions upon all his people found its worst form in his treatment of the American colonists. He began to impose taxes and restrictions upon American trade through tariffs and taxes which were wholly unreasonable. Displeasing as these taxes were of themselves, they were not nearly so much a cause of discontent as the method by which they were imposed. It should be remembered that these colonists had been taught the principles of Magna Carta. They had been taught as children the justice of the provision of Magna Carta which had said that "no tax should be imposed by the king except by the consent of his subjects." And so when King George had placed a tax on tea and glass and every other article that was conveniently taxable, it is not surprising that they threw some British tea into Boston Harbor, and that the slogan "no taxation without representation" should be taken up throughout the colonies, to spur them on to fight for their rights.

The Revolt and the Rise of a New Nation. — In 1775 the first battles were fought. Those battles of 1775 were fought by the colonists as *subjects* of a king in protest against unreasonable acts. But with the authorization of the Continental Congress, which represented the colonies, a Declaration of Independence was written and adopted on July 4, 1776. From that day the people of America no longer considered themselves subjects of England, but rather citizens of a free and independent nation. The rest of the war was fought as one nation against another; the

Americans fighting to be wholly free from England; to be permitted to set up a form of government as they wished. With the winning of the war and the conclusion of a treaty with England in 1783, the people of America were free to establish whatever form of government they wished.

The Need for a Union — the First Union Under the Articles of Confederation. — As a matter of fact there were then thirteen little independent nations, each one free to do just as the people might wish. They had united to fight the Revolution and had been successful. The question then arose as to whether they should continue to be united and form one nation, or whether they should go on, each state independent of every other state, bound by no agreement whatever. But it soon became evident that there were common problems, which could be solved only by co-operation and united action. The necessities of the Revolution already had demanded a form of *union*, which, according to the provisions of Articles of Confederation, had gone into effect in 1781.

The plan of government which the Articles of Confederation provided proved to be very unsatisfactory. Each state, a little nation in itself, retained all governmental powers — what is often referred to as *full sovereignty*. Under the Articles of Confederation only “a firm league of friendship” was established, and consequently there was no power by which any one state might be compelled to follow a course of action that should prove for the welfare of all thirteen states. The Congress which represented the states under the Articles of Confederation

levied taxes against the states to meet the expenses of the confederate government, but it lacked power to collect them. As a result the country soon fell into a deplorable condition.

The Second Union — the More Perfect Union Under the Constitution. — As would be expected under such conditions, the states then began to quarrel among themselves. It happened that a discussion arose between Maryland and Virginia concerning regulation of the navigation of certain rivers that touched both states. Commissioners were sent from both states to Alexandria, Va., to form an agreement about the matter. They soon found that it would be desirable to call all the states into a conference in order to decide upon a uniform system of laws which would regulate commerce between the states. But five states responded to a call in September, 1786, for such a convention at Annapolis. Since so few states were represented, it was decided to issue a call for another convention to meet in Philadelphia. Congress issued a call to the states to send delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, which convened May 25, 1787.

Ratifying the Constitution. — No more important convention was ever held. Through an unusually long, hot summer the delegates worked to draft a constitution which would form the basis for a government which would insure peace among these thirteen nations. There were two factions in the convention. On the one hand, there were those who wished to establish a strong central government, which should have a large measure of authority over the

state; on the other hand, there was a faction which looked with dread upon any provision which might limit the rights of a state. Many other questions arose which gave rise to serious disputes, but the problem of "states' rights" was perhaps the most difficult. At times it seemed that the convention would break up in a disagreement, but through wise compromises an agreement was reached which resulted in our present constitution, which the delegates signed September 17, 1787.

When the Constitution was presented to the states for ratification, *i. e.*, approval, some serious opposition arose, particularly in Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia. Certain influential men in these states felt that under the Constitution the federal government had too much power. It had been provided that the Constitution would go into effect with the ratification of nine states. On June 21, 1788, New Hampshire ratified as the ninth state, thus assuring that the constitution would go into effect. Virginia and New York ratified shortly afterward. The Constitution went into effect March 4, 1789. Two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, had still failed to ratify, but soon after the establishment of the new government, they too joined themselves to the new united nation.

The Rights of an American. — In brief, this is the story of the development of a national government in the United States which would, as stated in the preamble of its Constitution, "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings

of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." It is in the stability of government created by this union of states that the American citizen finds the basis of his rights and privileges. The constitution of the state guarantees to all citizens of the state certain fundamental rights and privileges which under no circumstance can be taken away. In addition to these guarantees which a citizen has in his state constitution, the federal Constitution guarantees certain fundamental rights to all citizens of the nation. Chief among these are religious liberty, freedom of speech and press, right of the people to assemble, security of home, due process of law before one may be deprived of life, liberty, or property, equal protection of the law, trial by jury, etc. Thus the citizen of any American state has certain specific guarantees of liberty which are made secure not only by the combined power of the people of his state, but by the combined power of the whole population of the forty-eight states.

Extending the Right to Vote. — Certain facts concerning the extension of the right to vote in England have been related, and in that story it was pointed out that previous to 1832 but a very few of the people of England had any part in the election of the representatives who should make their laws. It is a surprise to many in America to learn that at one time a very small proportion of the people of the United States had a share in lawmaking. According to our plan of government, the right to vote is a privilege granted by *a state*. In many states qualifications were required for voting which gave the privilege of voting to a very few.

At the time of the adoption of the United States Constitution the ownership of property of a certain amount, or the payment of a certain amount of taxes, was required in practically all the states, in order to have the privilege of voting. By progressive steps, however, the rights of voting have been extended in the various states, so that practically all persons of the age of twenty-one and above now have the right to vote. Previous to 1920 the voting privilege was restricted to male persons; in that year, however, the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted, which reads: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of sex." With the passage of that amendment, it was made more nearly possible for us to say that our government is a government by all the people.

It has been the aim of this chapter to show that free government is a heritage that comes to us through sacrifice and struggle of generations of those who have gone before us, not only in America but in the other nations of the world as well. The person who would disregard this heritage would be ungrateful indeed.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. Were the conditions under which the colonists lived in America such as would cause them to disbelieve in the divine right of kings? Explain.

2. Magna Carta says: "No tax should be imposed by the king except by the consent of his subjects." The slogan of the colonists was "No taxation without representation." Is there any difference?

3. Suppose that King George III had imposed a tax on the colo-

nists to build good roads in America. Would the colonists have protested? If so, why?

4. What was the difference in the purposes of the Revolutionary War before and after July 4, 1776?

5. Read the Declaration of Independence and study it. Do you find any of the same ideas as those of Rousseau? Of Montesquieu? Of Magna Carta? Of the Bill of Rights?

6. The Declaration of Independence carries a list of charges against King George. Do they indicate to you that King George believed in the divine right of kings?

7. Why was a "firm league of friendship," as provided for in the Articles of Confederation, insufficient to solve the problem of Union?

8. Describe the circumstances which led up to the calling of the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787.

9. What was the problem of "states' rights," which arose in the Constitutional Convention? Why was a state afraid of giving too much power to the federal government?

10. In what way did the Civil War settle some of the questions which had arisen in the Constitutional Convention of 1787?



CHAPTER XIII

THE AMERICAN PLAN OF GOVERNMENT

Each person in America lives under three governments — national, state, and local. Local government may be county, township, and municipal (town or city). Each of these local governments, county, township, or municipal, operates under the regulations of the laws of the state. Certain classes of work are performed for the people by local governments, certain classes by state government, and certain classes by the national government. It is very important that the American citizen understand the relation between these three types of government, and the work which each can and should perform.

SECTION I — THE RELATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO STATE GOVERNMENT

How Could a Nation Be Created from Thirteen Nations? — It has always been a principle of American government to permit a local government to have as much power as it can safely exercise. Therefore we should expect to find the powers of local government increased as much as possible, and state government keeping as much power as possible from the national government. In the beginning each free colony was a little sovereign nation. (Sovereign means with unlimited power.) One of the difficult problems in drafting the Constitution for the national government was to devise a plan which would not deprive the states of their authority, and which, at the same time,

would give sufficient power to the federal government to compel all states to work together harmoniously for their common good.

The original thirteen states may be compared to thirteen all-star athletes, none of whom is willing to accept orders from any one else. In order that these thirteen athletes may use their skill to the best advantage, it is necessary that they submit to the authority of a leader who is delegated to organize them into a team — not thirteen men, but one team. So it was with the states in America. As thirteen states they had little power; when organized into one nation, under the direction of a central government, they formed a power that all other nations of the world soon came to respect.

What Powers Did a State Once Have? — The plan of government for which the Constitution of the United States provided enabled a state to retain all power in any matter which was of concern to the state itself. In matters which would affect one or more states, or the common welfare of all the states, the federal government was given power to act. Let us see what kind of circumstances might arise! Remember that *all* power rested with a state previous to the adoption of the Constitution; each state could do anything which its people might decide upon by state law. A state could make war, it could support its own navy, it could coin its own money, it could establish its own schools, it could establish its own standards of measure, it could punish any criminal within its boundaries, it could make any needed public improvements, it could charge a tariff

upon any goods shipped into its boundaries, and do any other act which the people might decide upon.

What Powers Did a State Keep and What Powers Did It Give Up? — The diagram which follows shows certain powers which, originally belonging to the states, were transferred to the federal government. Of the twelve powers that are listed as originally belonging to the states, six of them are crossed out and are transferred by the Constitution to the authority or jurisdiction of the United States. It is evident that only those powers are given to the United States Government which can be administered more economically and effectually by the national government than by the states themselves.

HOW STATE POWERS WERE DELEGATED TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE CONSTITUTION

<i>State POWERS</i>	<i>United States POWERS</i>
1. Protection of life.	
*2. Protection of health.	Protection of health.
3. Protection of property.	
4. Building roads.	Building roads.
5. Establishing units of measure.	Establishing units of measure.
6. Coining money.	Coining money.
7. Making war.	Making war.
8. Caring for the poor, insane, etc.	
9. Providing schools.	Aids in support of schools.
10. Establishing post-offices.	Establishing post-offices.
11. Maintaining a navy.	Maintaining a navy.
12. Regulating commerce with foreign nations.	Regulating commerce among the states and with foreign nations.

* When appearing under both, the federal government merely renders *aid* to the states.

(a) **Protection of Life and Health.** — Protection of life remains the duty of the state government. If one man



GOVERNMENT INSPECTION OF MEAT IN A LARGE PACKING-PLANT.

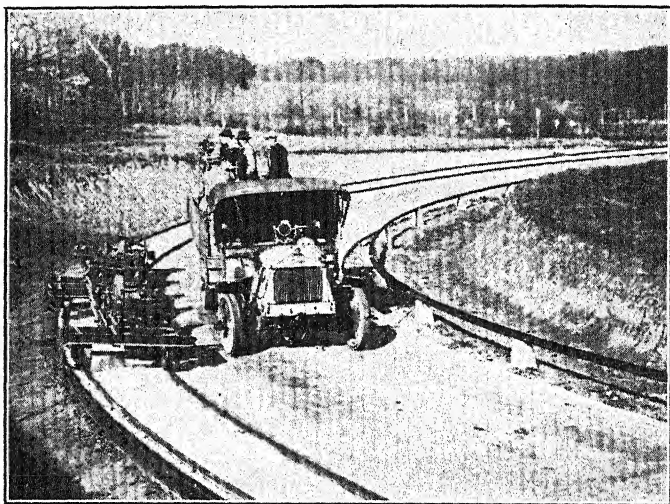
threatens or takes the life of another, it is the duty of the state government to act in the matter. Protection of health also is primarily the duty of the state. But in many cases it is necessary to enlist the aid of the federal govern-

ment. An epidemic may affect the people of a number of states; the waters of a river, polluted in one state, may flow into another state and affect the health of the people there. Food shipped from one state to another may be impure and thus endanger the health of many people far from the state where it was manufactured. In such cases as these the Public Health Service of the United States Government will take any steps necessary for the protection of health of citizens of the various states.

(b) **Protection of Property.** — The right to own property, the rules by which property rights may be sold or transferred, the rules regulating the passing of property from a man to his heirs — all these are fixed by the laws of a state. For example, when a man buys a farm, he receives a deed which is his evidence of ownership of the farm. Provision is made for that deed to be “recorded” by a *county official*. This process of “recording” the deed gives the owner of the farm double evidence of ownership. All these provisions for the protection of property rights are made by *state* laws. It is for this reason that one finds different rules regulating the ownership and disposal of property in different states.

(c) **Building Roads, Bridges, etc.** — In the chapter on “Benefits of Government” it was stated that improvement of roads in early days was done in large measure by private enterprise and not by any form of government at all. Certain private individuals or corporations were given the right to improve a road, and then to charge a

"toll" to all persons who wished to use the road. The people have learned, however, that it is more advantageous to have the roads built by some form of government. This is usually done by the authority of state law, which, in many



Copyright, Keystone View Co.

CIRCULAR TRACK MAINTAINED BY THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS FOR
TESTING DIFFERENT TYPES OF CONCRETE ROADS.

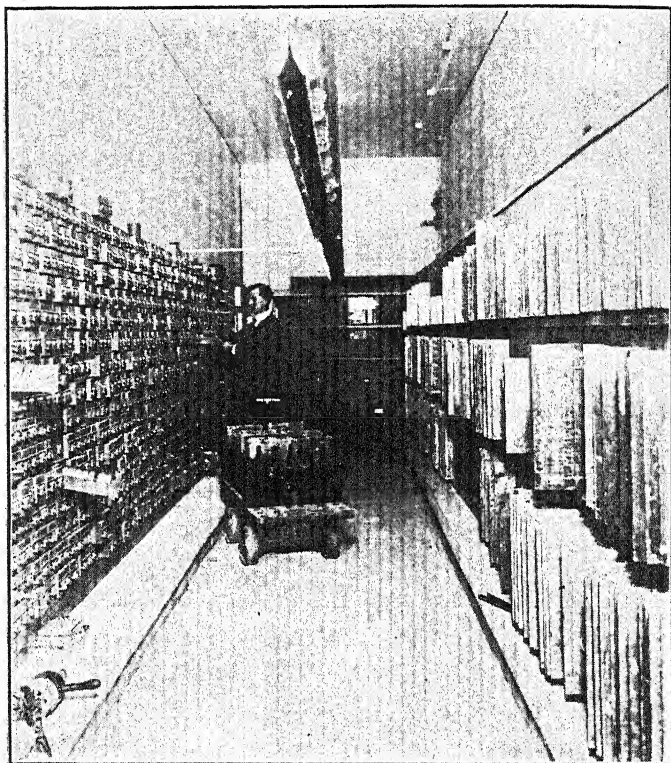
cases, gives power to construct roads to counties or townships. The federal government has in many cases, however, aided in the improvement of roads, particularly where it affects transportation from state to state. The coming of the automobile has made it increasingly desirable to establish a system of good roads which will connect all parts of the country. The United States has of recent years been giving an increasing amount of support to a system of

improved highways connecting important centres of population.

(d) **Establishing Units of Measure.** — It is quite necessary that the units of measure of length, weight, volume, etc., be uniform over the country if goods are to be freely exchanged. If a *foot* meant one length in Virginia and another in New York, it would be difficult for such goods as lumber or cloth to be bought and sold. Consequently Congress was given authority "to fix the standard of weights and measures," and, as a result, the units of length, weight, volume, time, etc., are uniform throughout the land. The great service which the United States Government renders to commerce in this one particular alone is not always fully appreciated.

(e) **Coining Money.** — Coining of money is but another phase of establishing units of measure. One of the essential services of money is as a measure of value. Had the power of coining money been left with each state, a traveller going from Iowa to Illinois would need to have his money changed when crossing the line, just as it is now necessary to have money changed when going from New York to London. Very wisely, all power of coining money was given to the United States Government. As a result, we find the dime, quarter, silver dollar, and all other coins and other forms of money equally acceptable in all parts of the United States. Had the power of coining money been left with the states, it would have been a most serious handicap to the industrial development of our country.

(f) **Caring for the Poor, Insane, etc.** — This power has been kept by the states, and there has arisen but little occasion for the United States Government to take a part.



INTERIOR OF THE PLATE ROOM OF THE BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.

The roll-case plates are on the left; the engraved plates on the right.

State institutions are maintained for the insane, the feeble-minded, the blind and deaf, and for the orphans of the state. Counties within the state usually provide poor

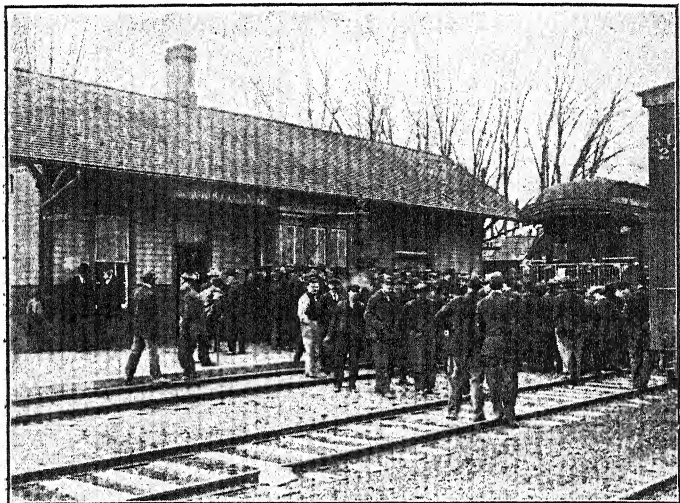
asylums, county hospitals, tuberculosis hospitals, etc. A local officer, such as township trustee, is made overseer of the poor in his township, and he renders aid to poor families from township funds.

(g) **Providing Schools.** — It is interesting that authority to establish an educational system for a county as a whole was not given to the United States Government. But when the Constitution was adopted, there were many differences of opinion on the question of establishing free schools. Delegates from some states were in favor of public schools, but delegates from other states were opposed to the idea of publicly supported education. As a result, the power to control education rests with the state. Every state in the Union has established a system of free education, but the method of control and management differs greatly in the various states.

The United States Government does, however, give much aid and encouragement to education, though it has been given no powers to do so by the Constitution. A Bureau of Education under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior does a great deal of service for education by collecting information and performing other services for the use of educational officers in the various states. The United States Government has granted money to aid in the establishment and maintenance of agricultural colleges, and in 1917 congress provided that each year a grant should be made from the federal treasury to the states, to encourage the states in the support of vocational education. This money is distributed among the states on condition that

each state shall contribute an amount equal to that granted by the federal government.

In many ways there are evidences of increasing participation of the United States Government in education. There has been a movement to make the Bureau of Education a *Department* of Education, and thus make its head a

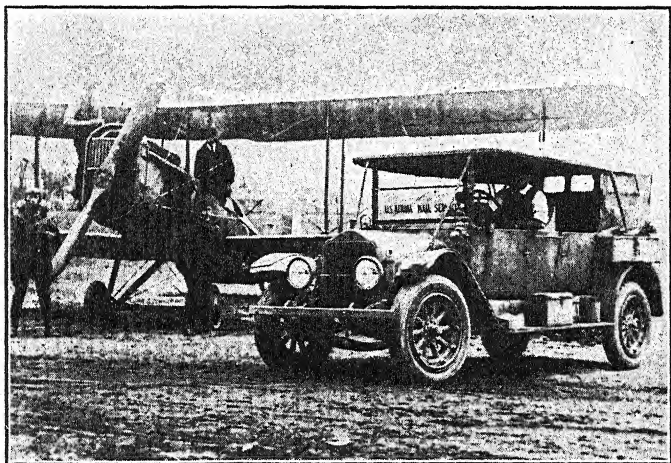


THIS TRAIN WAS SENT OUT BY ONE OF OUR UNIVERSITIES TO INSTRUCT FARMERS ON PROPER CULTIVATION OF SOIL.

cabinet officer. Also, there is considerable support given to a movement to give greater aid from federal funds to the states for the support of public schools. There are many, however, who believe that it is unwise to give greater power to the United States Government in the control of education. It is the opinion of those who believe this that local communities can better determine what are the

school needs of the community than can federal officers. This will be an important question for settlement by the people of the United States in the future days.

(h) **Establishment of Post-offices.** — No little part of the credit for America's rapid development should be given



AIRPLANE MAIL.

The airplanes are met by fast motor-cars which carry the mail to the post-office for distribution and delivery.

to the great service of the postal system. In some countries the operation of the postal system is conducted by private corporations. The operation of the post-office was *the one* task of the nature of an industrial enterprise that was given to the government to do. The policy has been more than justified; the cheapness by which letters and papers and periodicals have been carried from one part

of the country to another has contributed greatly to the formation of a sound public opinion.

(i) **Regulation of Commerce Among the States.** — A state has full power to regulate commerce within the state; the United States Government has power to regulate commerce *among* the states. Commerce within a state is known as *intrastate* commerce; commerce between states is *interstate* commerce. In the early days there was not a great deal of commerce between states. Means of transportation were so limited that trade was conducted in a restricted area only. But as roads were improved, canals and railroads built, commerce between the states developed at a rapid pace. The products of Massachusetts and New York were soon found in the markets of the Carolinas.

The railroads were, of course, the most important agency in the development of interstate commerce, and in time it was found necessary to exercise the power of the United States Government for its regulation. In 1887 Congress established a board known as the Interstate Commerce Commission. Since 1887 the Interstate Commerce Commission has had much authority over the railroads to fix rates, etc. This board now has eleven members, and in all matters pertaining to interstate commerce it has a great deal of power. According to the Transportation Act of 1920, it is given complete power to fix railroad rates, but it was provided in the Act that the rates be high enough to enable the roads to earn a net income of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on their valuation.

The development of interstate commerce on a large

scale has made it necessary for the United States Government to extend its powers of regulation into many fields. Telephone, telegraphs, and now radio add to the problems of the federal government in regulating commerce among the states.

(j) **Regulation of Commerce with Foreign Nations.** —

It is very important that the United States maintain proper relations with the foreign nations in the matter of commerce. While for the most part we can produce the goods which we need, yet we produce a great surplus of some kinds of goods which we can advantageously exchange for the goods produced by another country. Many articles, such as sugar, coffee, tea, silk, and rubber are quite necessary for our comfort, and we can only procure them by trading in foreign markets. In order to establish and maintain satisfactory trade relations, the United States makes commercial treaties which set forth the terms upon which the citizens of America may deal with the citizens of a foreign country. Foreign trade is promoted greatly through the establishment of a *consular service*, which places men in important trade centres in foreign countries. These consuls, among other duties, study trade conditions, send information to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, which has it available for American business men.

Congress was given the power to lay and collect duties, imports. From this power Congress levies a tariff upon goods shipped into America. This has far-reaching effects upon our commerce with foreign nations. By fixing a tariff

high enough, it can be made unprofitable for a foreign manufacturer to ship his products here. By making a tariff very low, it may be made possible for a foreign manufacturer employing cheap labor to drive an American manufacturer out of business. Ever since the administration of George Washington, the tariff has been a big issue in our public affairs. In many elections it has been the chief issue between the political parties. One part of the population believes a tariff should be imposed only for the purpose of bringing in a revenue to the government treasury; another part believes a tariff should be imposed to protect industries in this country. Congress has full power to fix the tariff, but a Tariff Commission, appointed by the President, is charged with the duties of studying the industrial conditions of the country, and recommending to Congress what tariffs should be levied. Political influences are so powerful, however, in the matter of tariffs that Congress does not at all times follow the recommendations of the appointed experts.

(k) Power to Declare War. Maintenance of an Army and a Navy. — It would have been disastrous had each state retained the power to make war or maintain an army and a navy. The expense necessary to maintain forty-eight armies and a navy for each state bordering on a navigable river or the sea-coast would have drawn on our resources far heavier than the enormous expense of war-making that we have to-day. Very wisely the authority "to declare war, to raise and support armies and to provide and maintain a navy" was given to the United States.

On the other hand, the Constitution said: "No state shall, without the consent of Congress, keep troops or ships of war in times of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

As a result of these wise provisions, war between the states is made wholly improbable. Furthermore, the states need carry no burden of expense for war-making purposes. The United States Government itself tries to keep its standing army to a minimum, and in 1921 the number was fixed at 150,000. Each state is permitted to keep a militia which is organized and equipped as a militia force for the purpose of maintaining order within the state. The militia is only called out by the governor of the state upon request of the local officers, sheriffs or police, when they feel unable to keep the peace. Even with these economical provisions for internal defense, the expense of the army in 1920 was \$455,000,000; of the navy \$477,000,000.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. Name all of the different governments under which you live. What does each do for you?

2. Explain the sentence above which states: "It has always been a principle of American government to permit a local government to have as much power as it safely can exercise." Can you suggest circumstances in which it would be unsafe for a state to have too much power?

3. Can you suggest circumstances in which it would be unsafe for a city to have too great power?

4. When an athlete joins an athletic team, does he surrender some of his powers? Name some.

5. What is meant by the inscription on the American dollar, "E Pluribus Unum" ("One from many")?
6. From the diagram on p. 197, be able to explain why each state power not crossed out was not transferred to the federal government.
7. Give examples showing how it became necessary for the United States Government to help the states in protection of health.
8. Do you believe that the laws regulating the ownership and transfer of property should be made uniform throughout the United States?
9. If the court-house in your county should be destroyed, with all its contents, how would you be affected?
10. Do you know of any roads which the federal government helped to build?
11. Read in any high-school history text about the problems of national internal improvements in the administration of J. Q. Adams or Andrew Jackson? What were the arguments for and against national aid to roads, canals, etc., at that time?
12. What would be the effect upon commerce if the states had different standards of measure as they have different public-school systems?
13. What disadvantages result to a boy who moves from New York to Florida because the school systems are differently organized?
14. Does the federal government give any aid to the school which you attend? If so, for what purpose?
15. Give examples of interstate commerce; of intrastate commerce.
16. Why does the federal government regulate the rates which are charged upon the railroad?
17. If our foreign trade were cut off entirely, what articles would you have to do without?
18. What would be the effect if each state were permitted to charge a tariff on goods shipped into its boundaries? Discuss fully.
19. How many men are enlisted in the organized militia in your state? Does your state militia have any working relation with the United States army? How much did your state spend on the militia last year?

SECTION II — THE RELATION BETWEEN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

What Are the Three Forms of Local Government? —

Local governments are: (1) county, (2) township or town, (3) municipal, *i. e.*, town or city. Each type of government operates under regulation of state law; municipal governments, however, are given privileges to operate much more independently of the state than can the county or township. For example, a city or town is given the right to make its own laws; a county or township, as a usual thing, only performs local tasks which have been sanctioned by a law of the states. A city may pass an ordinance regulating the speed of automobiles within its boundaries; the speed limits in the rural districts within a county, however, are fixed by a state law, and the county or township officers are then charged with the duty of seeing that the law is obeyed within the territory under their jurisdiction.

What Are Some Services of the County? — All states are divided into counties (in Louisiana they are called parishes), and the county boundaries are fixed by the state legislature. The county is thus only a division of the state, created for the purpose of getting both state and local government duties performed more conveniently. As an example: A state university is supported by the state, and taxes have to be collected from all property-holders in the state for the support of the university. Instead of all taxes being paid directly to the state treasurer, they are collected for each county by the county treasurer, and

paid by him to the treasurer of the state. In seeing that the laws of the state are obeyed and fairly administered and interpreted, the county is of great importance. County courts, or, in some states, district courts, are established, making it possible for all cases involving state laws to be tried speedily. There are many other duties of a similar nature that are performed by the county in aiding the state to do its work.

On the other hand, the county does many things which are of concern only to the county itself. It may build roads and bridges, necessary county buildings, such as a court-house, poorhouse, jail, or a hospital. It also may do a great deal in the care of the poor in the county itself. It is through a county officer, a recorder, that all records of transfers of property are kept. The county is also of great importance in the conducting of elections.

Important County Officers. — The governing body of a county is a board composed of from three to fifteen members (depending on the state), known as a board of commissioners or supervisors. They have all authority which has not been definitely assigned to some other officer of the county. States differ as to the type of county offices created; in general, in addition to the board of commissioners, offices are created as follows:

A Sheriff — who is charged with the duty of keeping the peace and with all the duties that this makes necessary.

A Coroner — whose principal duty is to ascertain the cause of any death which has occurred under circum-

stances which may give cause of suspicion of violence or crime.

A County Attorney — often called a Prosecuting Attorney, who is charged with the duty of trying persons accused of violating the state law.

County Treasurer — who collects all taxes for the state, county, and municipal governments within the county.

County Auditor — who is the county bookkeeper, and who audits all accounts of all offices.

County Recorder — who keeps record of all deeds, mortgages, etc.

County School Superintendent — who supervises the rural schools in the county.

County Judge — who presides over the county court.

What Are Some Services of the Township? — In many states, particularly in the South and West, the county is the smallest unit of government. In the New England and Middle West, however, the counties are subdivided into townships (sometimes called towns). These townships are formed to carry on certain duties of local government, such as supervision of schools, supervision of construction of ditches, roads (in certain cases), care of the poor, etc. The administration of the duties of township government are usually delegated to a *township trustee* or township supervisor. Because of the wide range of his duties his office is of great importance.

The State and the Municipality. — Whenever any area becomes densely populated because of some industrial advantages, important problems of government arise for those

who live in that area. There arises a need for a municipal government which may have authority to manage local affairs for that community. Whenever there are a number of people living within an area, and they find that they have certain common problems of public welfare, they ask permission of the state to become *incorporated*. The state always prescribes the number of inhabitants that are included in the area before articles of incorporation — a *charter* — is granted.

When the state grants the charter, the municipality then has power to pass laws for the regulation of its own affairs. The charter granted by the state fixes the method by which the municipal government may be organized, provides the form of government which it shall have, the powers of officials, etc. Ofttimes, however, citizens are permitted to draw up their own charters and determine their own form of government. Such charters are known as *home-rule* charters. It should be kept in mind that in all cases a town or city receives its authority to govern itself in local affairs from the government of the state. The methods of government which cities may adopt are discussed in a later chapter.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. Could a state legislature pass all laws necessary to meet the problems of all cities in the state? Why? Is it more nearly possible to pass laws which will apply to all counties?
2. How many counties are there in your state? Could the number be changed? How?
3. In what way does the collection of taxes by the county treasurer make tax-paying more simple than it otherwise might be?
4. Make a list of all the county and township officers in your

county, and after each write a sentence which states the general nature of the work of each officer.

5. What is the purpose of a charter in city government? Should a municipality have to get power to govern itself from the state?

SECTION III — HOW THE TASKS OF GOVERNMENT ARE DIVIDED AND HOW DONE

(a) *How They Are Divided.* — The tasks of government are *divided*. Any unit of government, whether national, state, or local, finds that there are three classes of duties to perform:

1. Laws must be made which declare what shall and must be done.
2. The laws must be enforced.
3. A method must be provided to interpret the law and to render justice.

It is entirely possible for one official to perform all of these functions. Kings, in an early day, held all three powers in their hands. But in our American plan of government we make an attempt to separate these three tasks and assign them to three distinct and separate branches of the government. The legislative branch makes the law; the executive branch enforces law; the judicial branch explains the meaning of the law and sees that its enforcement is fair and just. In every unit of government — national, state, and local — these three tasks will be found for government. In county and township government lawmaking is relatively unimportant because these units of government are formed to enforce the provisions of state law. In national, state, and municipal government all three branches of government are distinctly provided for.

(b) **How the Tasks of Government Are Delegated to Officials.** — In Chapter IV there is a brief discussion of the methods by which laws may be made. A comparison is there made between the *direct method* of lawmaking by the people and the *indirect method* by representatives of the people. The American plan of government, in practically all cases, provides for the making of laws by representatives of the people, *i. e.*, a *republican form* of government. It always has been the American idea that laws will be better made if made by picked representatives than if made by the people themselves. It is assumed, of course, that the greatest care will be taken by the people in the selection of those who are to represent them in the making of the laws.

How the People May Make Laws Directly. — In some states a plan has been adopted whereby laws may be referred to the people in order that they may directly express their will upon them in an election. This is known as a *referendum*. In other cases, provision is made for any person or persons to propose a law; this is known as the right of *initiative*. The adoption of these methods of lawmaking results from the efforts of those who believe that good results will come from giving greater opportunity for every one directly to express his will on public questions. It is generally agreed, however, that the *initiative* and *referendum* are only workable upon broad questions upon which it is not difficult for the public to form a well-grounded opinion.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Do the same advantages result from dividing the tasks of government among three branches as result from dividing the labor in making a pair of shoes? If so, illustrate.
2. Give an illustration of the way in which the three tasks of government are divided up in regulating the traffic; in building a new public building.
3. Would there be any dangers in having all three of these tasks in the hands of one man or one group of men?
4. How do you think the qualifications of a man who makes the laws should differ from the qualifications of a man who enforces them?
5. Do you believe laws will be better made if made by representatives of the people than by the people directly? If so, why? Give illustrations.
6. In general, what would you consider should be the qualifications of a good lawmaker?
7. In what kind of circumstances would the referendum be beneficial? the initiative?
8. Give examples of some laws upon which you think every one could cast an intelligent vote; of some upon which they could not.
9. If you believed a certain law necessary for the public welfare, how would you proceed to get it passed?

SECTION IV — POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

Why Parties Arise. — In any group of people there will arise differences of opinion as to the policies which the group shall pursue. In a crowd of boys, together for an afternoon, a certain number will prefer to play ball; on the other hand, a certain number will prefer to go fishing. This will give rise to parties in the crowd. If the crowd is to stay together, it will be necessary for an agreement to be made by some method to decide whether the afternoon shall be spent at ball-playing or fishing.

The Story of Political Parties in the United States. —

The same thing occurs in our government groups. One part of the population believes in one policy; another part in another policy. In the United States definite political parties first arose in the administration of George Washington. A difference of opinion arose over the power which the national or federal government should have, and the power which the states should have. In President Washington's cabinet, Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, advocated policies which would give the national government a large amount of power. Thomas Jefferson, on the other hand, believed that the powers of the federal government should be as limited as possible, and the powers of the states as great as possible. This gave rise to two parties. The sympathizers with Hamilton were known as Federalists; the sympathizers with Jefferson were known as Democratic Republicans.

Ever since Washington's administration there have been two dominant parties in the United States. By 1830 the Democratic-Republican party had changed its name to the Democratic party; opposing it then there was a National Republican (later the Whig party). From 1830 till the fifties the political battles of the country were between the Whigs and the Democrats; the Whigs carrying on the general policies of Hamilton and the Democrats the principles of Jefferson. From 1856 till the present the political contests have been between the Republican party and the Democratic party.

Of course, since 1856 the basis of differences between the parties has changed from time to time. For a time the

important problems centred about slavery, the Civil War, and the reconstruction problems of the South; later it was the question of the tariff, reorganization of the money system, and the policy of relations with foreign countries. One rather permanent point of difference has persisted, however, all through the history of parties in America. One party has always been generally favorable to increasing the powers of the national government; the other has always urged limiting the powers of the national government and increasing the liberties both of the state and individuals.

How Parties Are Organized. — It must be understood that political parties as such are no part of the organization of the government; they are merely voluntary organizations of a group of people who endeavor to use *team-work* to get the government to carry out their ideas. The active work of a party is done by a series of committees.

The organization of a party generally provides for: (1) a precinct committee, (2) a county committee, (3) a district committee, (4) a state committee, (5) a state central committee, (6) a national committee.

Why You Should Know Your Precinct Committeeman? — In most states the precinct committeeman is elected by the members of the party at the primary election. (A *primary* is a strictly party election which is held to choose officers for the party, as well as candidates which the party will support for office.) The precinct committeemen chosen at the primary constitute a county committee. The county

committees each choose a county committeeman to act as a member of the district committee. The district committees each choose one of their members to act on the state committee. The national committee is made up of one committeeman from each state elected by state delegates assembled at the national convention. There also may be city committees and ward committees, depending entirely on the area in which a party problem is arising.

The purpose of the party is to do two things: (1) to express the policy of the party in a party platform; (2) to nominate and elect men to office who will carry out these policies. Since the party organization is built up by precinct committeemen forming a county committee, and the county committeemen a state committee, etc., it is evident that the office of precinct committeeman is of greatest importance. The practical American citizen of the future will learn to ally himself actively with a political party which most nearly represents his belief, and then give most earnest attention to the caliber of the person who is to be his precinct committeeman. When we can get the precinct committeemen of all parties to be true representatives of the people of their precincts, we can expect then to have a government which thoroughly represents the people.

Why National Parties Often Determine Local Elections.

— We need to remember that parties primarily represent differences of opinion among people on *national* issues. It happens, however, that the party organization that is built up representing states, counties, cities, precincts, etc., is

convenient in securing control of *state* and *local* offices. Thus we find in city elections a Republican and a Democratic candidate for mayor, each backed by his own party organization. The issues of a city election, however, usually have nothing to do with national policies. As a consequence, the voters become confused upon the issues, and as a result local governments suffer. This is a matter to which intelligent citizens will give much attention in the future.

How Candidates for Office Are Nominated. — It remains to explain the method by which the party acts in the selection of public officers. There are "two contests" in an election; the first is a contest within the party itself as to who shall be the party candidate. For example: within one party there may be a dozen men who may wish to run for the office of state governor. The party organization must decide which man shall be supported, for it knows that the opposing party will have one candidate whom it will support. The method by which parties chose candidates in an earlier day was in a party convention, *i. e.*, an assembly of delegates representing all districts concerned. But in recent years a protest was made against the convention method, and in most states it is provided that a *primary election* shall be held by which party candidates may be chosen. By this means every member of a party gets to have a voice in the choice of the party candidate. The primary has been an effective means of giving to all an equal opportunity for a voice in choosing party candidates.

How Candidates Are Elected. — Parties having chosen their candidates, the contest next lies between the parties. This is the *election* proper, and the successful candidate in this contest *gets* the office. The method by which elections are held is of especial interest to the American citi-



INTERIOR OF A POLLING-PLACE.

zen, for it is through the election that the individual gets his chance to have a real part in government. Elections in small groups can be held by voice or by show of hands. When, however, it is desired for each person to have a chance to vote without any embarrassment, it is provided that the vote be cast by ballot. At one time in America in our elections the voter expressed his preferences by voice, and the election officers wrote it down. In nearly all states now, however, a paper ballot is used, in a form commonly known as the Australian ballot. Voting ma-

chines are used in some states, which greatly simplify the task of counting and summarizing the votes cast. The pupil of high-school ability is not likely to have any difficulty in the act of casting his vote; his greatest problem lies in finding out those persons for whom he should vote. The system of voting in America is now so planned that every voter may freely express his preferences without any fear of interference. This is a supreme privilege.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. Have you ever been in a group when difference of opinion arose about what the group should do? If so, how was the matter settled?
2. Explain why differences arose between Hamilton and Jefferson. Read about their arguments in your history and discuss in the class.
3. If there were no problems to solve, would there be any political parties? Do you believe there will be political parties as long as there are problems to solve? Why?
4. What are the important points of difference between the two principal parties now? What problems of national importance are likely to create party differences in the near future?
5. Draw a diagram of the organization of the political parties in your state?
6. Who is your precinct committeeman? Why is his office of such importance? What should be his qualifications?
7. What is the purpose of a party platform? Should a man, nominated and elected by a party, carry out the policies stated in the party platform? Why, or why not?
8. Why was the primary election method of nominating party candidates put into effect in most states?
9. How does it happen that we find "Republican" and "Democratic" candidates for city or county offices?
10. Is the nomination of the best man in the primary of as great importance as the choice of the best man in the election?
11. Why is it so important to have a secret ballot in election? Find out the method by which voting is made secret and describe to the class.

SECTION V — CITIZENSHIP AND VOTING

Why Is There a Difference Between the Term "Citizen" and "Voter"? — There is frequently some confusion between the idea of *citizenship* and *suffrage* (the right to vote). Some people believe that in order to become a citizen, one must have the privilege of voting, and that without the right to vote one cannot be a citizen. A citizen, however, is any one who owes allegiance or loyalty to the government. The right of voting is given by law to those citizens whom the *state* permits to have a part in directing the work of government.

How Does One Become a Citizen? — The Constitution of the United States declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." Every person born in the United States is a citizen, therefore, no matter what his parentage or age may be. Citizenship may be acquired by aliens by a process of naturalization. To become naturalized an alien must: (1) go before a court designated by law and formally declare his intent to become a citizen; (2) at a date at least two years later, and not more than seven years later, he must again appear before the court for taking his final letters of citizenship. The court will particularly require that he shall have been continuously a resident of the United States for five years, and that he give evidence of (1) good character, (2) a knowledge of American institutions, (3) ability to read and write, and (4) belief in organized government. Through naturaliza-

tion great numbers are added to the citizenship of the United States every year.

Suffrage. — The granting of *citizenship* is done by the United States Government. The suffrage is granted by



THROUGH NATURALIZATION GREAT NUMBERS ARE ADDED TO THE CITIZENSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES EVERY YEAR.

the states. Each state has the right to prescribe its own qualifications for voters, restricted by the *United States* only in the following particulars:

(1) By the Fifteenth Amendment the states were forbidden to deny the privilege of voting on account of race, color, or *previous condition of servitude*.

(2) By the Nineteenth Amendment the states were forbidden to deny the privilege of voting on account of sex.

It is evident that the state, therefore, can demand any other qualifications of voters it considers wise. It may require a period of residence, educational qualifications, a certain age, payment of taxes, etc. Practically all the states fix the age qualification as twenty-one years of age and above; some states require the payment of a certain amount of taxes. The practice varies greatly; the full power of fixing suffrage qualifications rests with the states, subject only to those restrictions of the United States Government stated above.

SECTION VI — SUMMARY

The outstanding features of the American plan of government are these:

(1) The relation between the states and the federal government is fixed by the Constitution, which sets forth the work which each may do; the relation between the state and counties and townships is fixed by state law; the relation between a state and a city is fixed by a charter granted to the city, according to the provisions of a state law.

(2) The three tasks of government are well defined and divided; in national, state, and city governments separate branches are established with definitely stated powers.

(3) The form of government is republican, as distinguished from a pure democracy.

(4) The selection of officials is made on a *party basis* — the party is a group method of selection of officials.

(5) In the choice of officials there are two contests: first, within the party for the nomination; second, between the parties for the election.

(6) The privilege of voting in an election is granted by the states to such of its citizens as it considers qualified, only subject to the restrictions of the Fifteenth and the Nineteenth amendments.

(7) All persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are by virtue of that fact *citizens*; aliens may become citizens through *naturalization*.

There are many phases of these seven features of American government which it is the duty of the intelligent citizen to understand. Some of the details of national, state, and municipal governments will be discussed in the chapters which follow.

PROBLEMS — SECTIONS V AND VI

1. Can you explain why the power to decide who shall vote is left to the states?
2. Mention some classes of citizens who cannot vote? Why not?
3. Could a boy, born in America, decide not to be a citizen, i.e., could he refuse to join the government group, just as he has the privilege to refuse to join a social group? Why, or why not?
4. Why have we a right to expect aliens who remain here to become naturalized?
5. Do you think all alien candidates for citizenship should be required to present wider qualifications for citizenship than those mentioned above?
6. What are the requirements of voting in your state?
7. Would you favor a law which would permit every high-school graduate to vote, whether of the age of twenty-one or not? Why or why not?
8. What qualifications do you think should be required for "voters"?

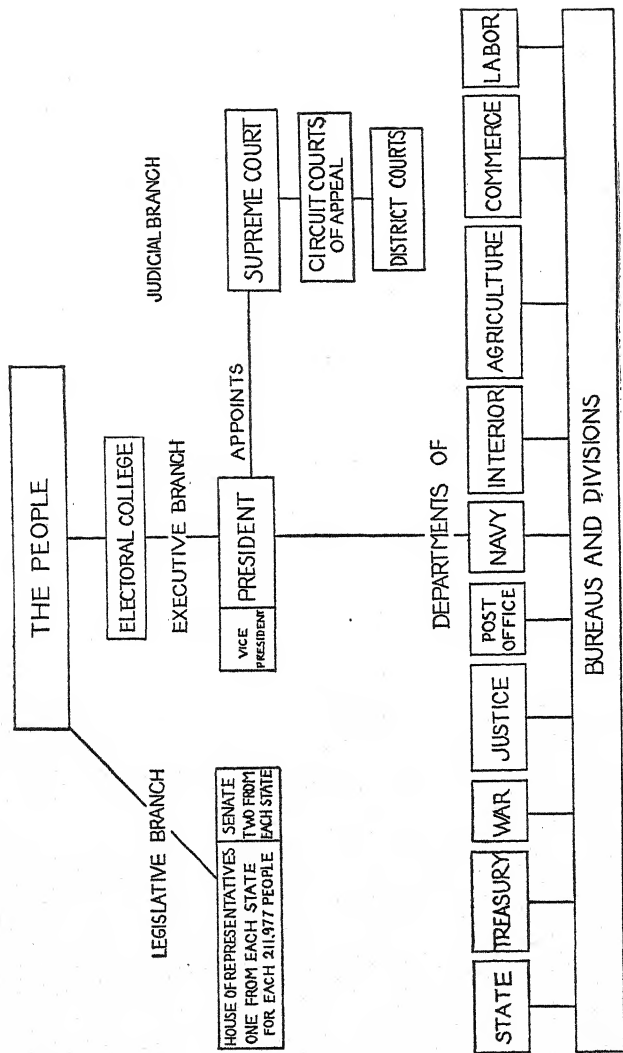
CHAPTER XIV

THE ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

We may think of our national government as similar to a business organization with about 110,000,000 stockholders. This organization has as its purpose the accomplishment of tasks assigned to the national government by the states, as described in the chapter which precedes. Just as the business corporation described in Chapter VIII has a definite plan of organization for doing its work, so a government, also, requires a definite form of organization. The plan of our national government is very simple and not at all difficult to understand. The diagram which follows shows the important features of the plan with the relation of the various officials.

SECTION I — THE RELATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT

How the Powers of Government Were Divided. — The framers of the Constitution were very fearful lest the powers of government would fall into the hands of one man or one group of men. As a result, the Constitution provided for a definite separation of powers, one branch of government to make law; one to enforce it; one to determine the meaning and the application of the law. The Constitution further provided that each branch of govern-



THE PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

ment should have a certain "check" upon the other divisions. For a law to be passed it must first pass both the House of Representatives and the Senate, in the legislative branch, be signed by the President, in the executive branch, and then if any question arises as to whether the law conforms to the provisions of the Constitution, it is in the power of the Supreme Court to pass on its constitutionality. By this means the acts of the government in one division are subject to the authority of the other divisions. It is the theory that the acts which will be approved by three distinct divisions of government will more likely be for the common good than if passed upon by one branch alone. This provision of our plan of national government makes it impossible for power to fall into the hands of any one man or even any group of men. On the other hand, this check of one division of government by the other slows up governmental action at times. Altogether this plan of "checks" has proved to be very beneficial, and an important feature of our government plan.

The Advantages of Having but Few Officers to Elect. — The problems of the citizen in fulfilling his responsibility for good national government are much simplified because of the fact that there are but few officers for him to elect. The voter elects a representative from his congressional district, two senators from his state, and (indirectly) the President and Vice-President. This makes just five officers whom he needs to elect. The judges of all federal courts are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. As a result of the simplified plan of organiza-

tion, it should be possible for the voter to give careful attention to the type of men who are candidates for these offices, and to know thoroughly the policies for which they stand.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. First of all, compare the diagram of the organization of national government with that for a business corporation, on p. 114, and point out all differences.
2. When the President sends a message to Congress stating what laws are necessary, is he using legislative or executive powers?
3. What is meant by "passing on the constitutionality of a law"? Read the Constitution and then suggest two laws that you are sure would be unconstitutional.
4. Why was it provided that all United States judges should be appointed instead of elected?
5. Would there be any objections to having the President elected by Congress? If so, explain, using the diagram.

SECTION II — THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Why We Have a House and a Senate. — The Constitution of the United States provides that Congress, in which is vested the lawmaking power, shall consist of two branches, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The framers of the Constitution believed that the necessity for proposed laws to pass two houses would add to the surety that only wise laws would be passed. It is not the usual practice in any country where there is a representative government to have but one assembly for lawmaking. For example, in England there is a House of Commons and a House of Lords; in France there is a House of Deputies and a Senate.

How the States Are Represented. — Each state in the Union is entitled to two senators, no matter how large or small it be. Consequently, the number of members in the Senate is 96. Representation of a state in the House of Representatives is based upon the population of the state. In this respect the Constitution says: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed." The basis of apportionment is fixed at each census. In 1910 it was provided that each state should have one representative for each 211,977 inhabitants. This figure made the House of Representatives consist of 435 members. It is expressly provided that each state shall have at least one representative, so even though a state does not have 211,977 inhabitants, it is represented by one member in the House. By this plan, of course, the larger the population of a state the greater the number of its representatives. According to the 1910 ratio, New York sent 43 representatives; Pennsylvania 32; Illinois 25. On the other end of the scale, Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming each sent one.

Congressional elections are held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November in the even numbered years. A senator is elected for a term of six years; a representative for a term of two years. The responsibilities of a member of the House are not greatly different from those of the senator. It is not the idea that the Senate is the upper house and the House of Representatives a lower house, although they are often referred to in these terms. In our

American plan of government the two Houses, in practically every respect, are on an equality in power and responsibility.

The Powers of Congress. — The work which the United States Government can do is determined by the powers granted to the various divisions of the government in the Constitution. The powers of Congress are fully set forth in Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution in eighteen separate and distinct clauses. In order to understand the work of the national government, a student should carefully read and analyze Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution in order that he may understand the general meaning of each statement.

The interpretation of some of these powers as stated in the Constitution has been the basis of much debate and disagreement. As an example of this, the combination of the first clause of the eighteen clauses with the last clause of the eighteen is of interest. (See the Constitution.) The first clause states: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debt and provide for the common defense and *general welfare* of the United States." The last clause states: "Congress shall have the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." Now when you combine these two clauses, it becomes evident that Congress was granted power to pass all laws which would provide for the general welfare of the United States. From this arose the basis for a controversy which has not even yet been settled. The term "general welfare" covers a multitude of things.

It may be interpreted broadly or narrowly. It was on this point that Hamilton and Jefferson differed so greatly. Hamilton was for a broad interpretation of this clause; Jefferson believed in limiting the interpretation; and so the controversy has gone on, really being at the bottom of the differences between the two political parties of the country throughout the years.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. What are the advantages in having two houses in Congress rather than just one?
2. If Congress should pass a law providing that each state should have one representative for each 600,000 inhabitants, how many representatives would your state then have? How many members would there then be in the House of Representatives?
3. How many members does your state now have in the House of Representatives? Who is the representative from your district? When will another election be held for representatives?
4. Who are the two senators from your state? When will another election be held for senators?
5. Are good roads for the general welfare of the United States? Good schools? Which word in the clause referred to above is the basis for greatest difference of opinion — *general* or *welfare*?

SECTION III — THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

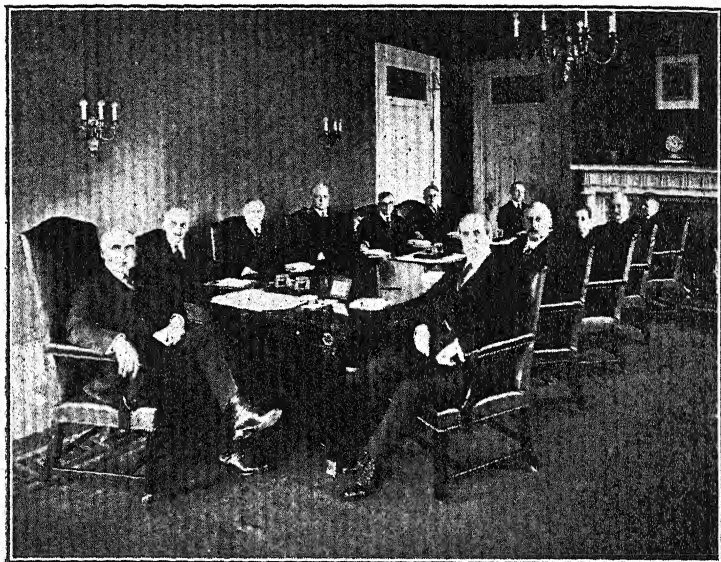
The Great Responsibility of the President. — “The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.” Notice that it is not stated that the executive power is in the executive “division” or “branch” but definitely *in a President*. That means that the President, and the President alone, is charged with the responsibility of enforcing United States laws. This is a striking illustration of what is known as *centralized* power; in other

words, in the President is centred all authority of law enforcement.

How the President Organizes His Task. — It is evident that no one man could administer this office without aid. The general manager of a business corporation described in Chapter 8 divided the responsibility of carrying on the business among departments. In the same way it soon became the practice for the President to departmentalize the work of the government. At the present time there are ten departments, as shown on the diagram of p. 229. The head of each department, appointed by the President, is called a secretary in all cases except two: the head of the Department of Justice is known as the attorney-general; the head of the Post-Office Department is known as the postmaster-general.

What is the Responsibility of a Cabinet Member? — The head of each department is given the responsibility of directing the work in his department. The secretary of the treasury is responsible for *administering* the financial policies of the nation, the secretary of war for *administering* the military policies. When the President calls together all ten department heads in a meeting, he expects to be able to get information and advice upon any feature of the government's work. The ten department heads make up the *cabinet*. It has been the usual policy of the President to consult the cabinet as a whole about questions of large importance, although no President is obliged to consult the cabinet about any matter whatever. Very much of

the success or failure of a President's administration depends upon the quality of the men whom he chooses as members of his cabinet.



Copyright, Harris & Ewing.

PRESIDENT HARDING AND HIS CABINET.

How the Departments Are Again Divided. — The ten departments of the executive branch are each divided into "bureaus," "offices," and "divisions." For example, under the Department of State, of at least 24 subdivisions, is the "Diplomatic Bureau," the "Division of Foreign Intelligence," "Division of Passport Control," "Office of the Law Clerk," etc. Under the Department of Commerce is the "Division of Publications," the "Bureau of Census," and at least twelve other divisions of the department.

Whenever a bureau or a division is referred to, one should understand that it is a definite part of the organization of one of ten executive departments. In the executive departments there were in 1921 over 597,000 employees. It is by means of this well-organized plan that this army of employees is supervised and directed, and thus the vast work of government is carried on. To make a complete diagram of the executive department of our federal government, showing the relations between the various bureaus and departments, is a worth-while enterprise for a pupil who is studying the organization of American government.

How the President and Vice-President are Chosen.—

We have learned that both senators and representatives are elected by the direct vote of the people. This is not true in the case of the President and Vice-President. Those who drafted the Constitution did not believe that the people should have a direct vote for the two executive officers; they believed it better to permit the people to elect certain ones to represent them in voting for these officials. The plan they had in mind is not dissimilar to that by which a business corporation elects its general manager. The stockholders do not vote directly for the general manager, but they elect a board of directors, whom they empower to elect a general manager. So the Constitution provides that the people shall elect electors, to compose the electoral college, each state receiving as many electors as they have *representatives* and *senators*. These electors then meet in their respective state capitals on the second Monday in

January after their election, and cast their ballot for President and Vice-President separately, and mail the certificate of the result of the vote to the president of the Senate. On the second Wednesday in February before a joint session of the House and Senate the certificate of the electoral vote from each state is opened. The candidates receiving the majority of the votes cast are declared President and Vice-President.

In actual practice, however, the people are really voting directly for President and Vice-President. With the rise of political parties and the nomination of candidate by them for President, the parties merely elect "electors," who are pledged to vote for the party candidate. As a result, the office of "elector" has no importance, except as it fulfils the requirements of the Constitution in the matter of the election of the two executive officers.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Do you think there are benefits arising from having all the responsibility for executing the law centred in the President? If so, what?
2. If the President wished to learn about the condition of the Indians on reservations in the West, which department head would he call in? About parcel-post rulings? About the condition of ships of the navy? About the amount of foreign trade with South American countries?
3. From the relation of the Cabinet officers to the President, as shown in the diagram, can the President dismiss a Cabinet member when he wishes?
4. Why do you think the framers of the Constitution believed an electoral college to be necessary? Was the provision good or bad?
5. The Vice-President presides over the Senate. Are his duties executive or legislative?

SECTION IV — THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Why We Do Not Elect Our Judges. — Reference to the diagram of the federal government on p. 229 will show that the judicial division of the government stands in a different relation to the people than do the legislative and the executive divisions. Senators, representatives, and the two executive officers are elected; judges of the United States courts are appointed. Furthermore, the federal judges hold office "during good behavior," and can be removed only by a process of impeachment. This plan was adopted to place the judges in a position that made them so independent that they would and could be absolutely just in all cases.

The United States Courts. — The Constitution provided only for a Supreme Court, but it gave the power to Congress to establish other "inferior" courts which might become necessary.

It has become necessary to divide the states into districts, about eighty in all, with a United States district court in each district. The states are further grouped into nine circuits, with a Circuit Court of Appeals in each circuit. By this means the judicial work of the government is divided up and more rapidly disposed of. Also, it provides a method which gives the greatest possible assurance that justice may be given. A case first heard in a district court may be "appealed" and heard in the Circuit Court of Appeals. Under certain circumstances the same case may again be "appealed" from the Circuit Court of Ap-

peals and heard in the Supreme Court. The judgment of the Supreme Court is, of course, final.

In addition to the three types of courts mentioned above, Congress has established a Court of Claims and a Court of Customs Appeals. The Court of Claims hears cases which arise out of contracts that have been made with the United States Government. The Court of Customs Appeals hears cases in which a customs charge is questioned. Both the Court of Claims and the Court of Customs Appeals sit at Washington.

The Powers of the Courts. — The judicial powers of the United States courts are very definitely stated in the Constitution (Article III). But just as there has been much controversy over the interpretation of the powers of Congress, so also has there been much controversy over the interpretation of the powers of the United States courts. For example, the Constitution says: "The judicial powers shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority." Does this give the Supreme Court the power to pass on the constitutionality of a law? Is that a case arising under the Constitution? It has been interpreted that this *does* give the Supreme Court authority to rule laws constitutional or unconstitutional. To many persons this power of the Supreme Court has been very objectionable. As the years have passed, however, the Supreme Court has developed to be such a tremendous force in our governmental system that it has been called "the balance wheel of our government."

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. Should it be made extremely difficult to remove judges from office? If so, why?
2. Why is it more important that the judge be free from political influence than the President?
3. Why has the Supreme Court been referred to as "the balance wheel" of our government?
4. Where is your closest United States district court? Who is the judge that presides there? How long has he served? How long can he serve?
5. If a man is caught stealing from a store in your town he will be tried by the county or circuit judge in your county. If caught stealing from the post-office he will be tried by the United States district judge. Why the difference?

SECTION V — HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS FINANCED

What Kinds of Taxes Go to the Federal Government. —

In 1922 there was paid into the Treasury of the United States Government over \$4,000,000,000, an amount equivalent to \$37.35 for every man, woman, and child in the country. The two principal sources of revenue are: (1) *internal revenues*, and (2) *customs*. *Internal revenue*, *i. e.*, income taxes, excess profits taxes, corporation income taxes, taxes on inheritances, tobacco, transportation, candy, jewelry, amusement tickets, etc., in 1922 contributed considerably over \$3,000,000,000 of the \$4,000,000,000 total. *Customs*, *i. e.*, tariffs, etc., contributed not much more than one-tenth of that amount, a little over \$350,000,000. In the early days of the government the customs provided more revenue to the federal treasury than did the internal revenues; in fact, not until 1900 did the receipts from in-

ternal revenues exceed those of the customs. Since that year the customs receipts have risen but little, and the increased current expenses of government have been met by increased internal revenues, as mentioned above. A great part of the money for the war was secured by loans from the people in what were called Liberty Bonds. No receipts from any tax on real or personal property go to the treasury of the federal government; taxes on property go to the support of state and local governments.

PROBLEMS — SECTION V

1. What are the different forms of internal revenues which are collected for the support of the federal government?
2. If the government should have need for increased amount of revenue in the future, do you believe that it will be got from *customs* or *internal revenue*? Why?
3. The interest charges on the debt of the United States Government in 1922 were \$989,000,000. If you owned a Liberty Bond, part of that was paid to you. Show how citizens thus receive money from taxes at the same time at which they are paying taxes.

Although the work of the federal government is vast and far-reaching, its form of organization is simple, and in its general features not beyond the understanding of every person of high-school ability. The original Constitution, the basis of the United States Government, is a brief document of not more than ten ordinary book pages. It carries but seven articles. Nineteen brief articles of amendment have been added, however, to the original Constitution. These twenty-six articles are so broadly written and so wisely worded that they establish the basis for the security, freedom, and liberty of 110,000,000 people. The American

silver dollar carried the inscription, "*E Pluribus Unum*," "One from Many." From many states has been established "*One nation*, indivisible, with liberty and freedom for all."

CHAPTER XV

STATE GOVERNMENT

SECTION I — THE GENERAL FEATURES OF ORGANIZATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Are We Divided or United? — To one looking at a map, the United States appears to be *divided into* forty-eight divisions. While that is true geographically, politically it is not the case. In fact, the United States is *composed of* forty-eight states. The difference between these two ideas is important to one who would understand the plan of state government in this American scheme. No one would think of speaking of a baseball team as being divided into nine men. It is perfectly clear that a baseball team is composed of nine men, each of whom has very definite power and ability to act in his own way, except where the interests of his team are concerned. The same thing is true for each one of the states of the Union. Except for these powers that were granted to the United States by the Constitution each state has full power to act in whatever manner seems best for the welfare of its people.

Thus we have forty-eight separate and independent state governments: forty-eight legislatures, forty-eight governors, forty-eight judicial systems. Each acts independently and freely in the interest of the people within the state confines. In any matter which has been left in the power of the state, as indicated by the diagram on p. 247, a state is

free to make its own laws, utterly regardless of how the same matter may be cared for in any other state. For that reason it is impossible to describe the government of all the states, for each state government may be and, in fact, is different from every other state government. It is possible to tell only certain facts concerning state governments in general. A suggested form of study is given at the end of each section, whereby a detailed study may be made of the government of the state in which the pupil lives.

The State Constitution. — The plan of organization of a state government is definitely outlined in a state constitution, drafted by a constitutional convention, and approved or ratified by vote of the people. In some states the constitutions are very brief, of no greater length than the Constitution of the United States. In other states the constitutions are quite lengthy; the constitution of Oklahoma contains nearly 50,000 words. An important feature of a state constitution is its *Bill of Rights*, in which the rights of a citizen are specifically set forth and guaranteed. It will be remembered that there is no Bill of Rights, as such, in the United States Constitution, although the first ten amendments, adopted in 1791, comprise the substance of a Bill of Rights. The important purpose of a constitution is to outline the organization of government and to define the powers of the various branches of government which the constitution creates. Many state constitutions include details of government, which might reasonably be written in the statutes. Governors and legislatures and courts of a state in all matters are subject to the provisions of the

state constitution, and every act which they do must conform to its provisions. (The pupil should examine a plan of organization of a state government which follows, and make thorough comparisons with the plan of organization of the federal government in the previous chapter.)

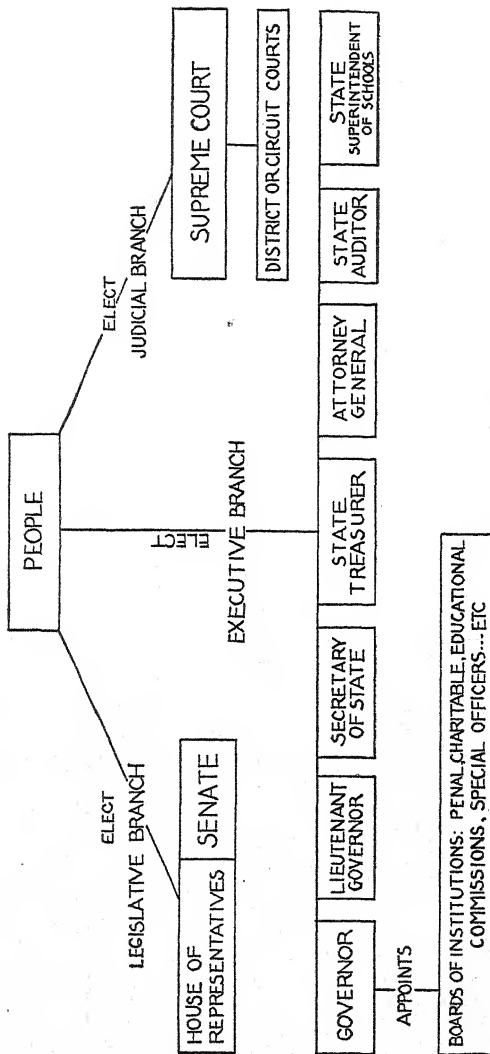
What Are the Important Differences Between the Organization in State Government and in Federal Government? — In contrast with the plan of federal government, two especial features of state government are worthy of study:

(1) In the national government but two executive officers are elected; in the state a considerable number of executive or administrative offices are filled by the direct vote of the people. (See diagram.)

(2) The judges are elected by the people in the greater number of the states of the Union; some states, however, have the judges appointed by the governor; in some states judges are elected by the legislatures.

(3) The governor of the state is not the executive, as is the President in the federal government. The governor is "but a part of the executive."

The various officers of the executive department are not answerable to the governor as are the heads of departments in the federal government, although the governor is usually given the power to require the other executive officers to make reports to him. From the diagram it can be seen that other officers in the executive branch are answerable only to the people, just as the governor himself. There is thus no *Cabinet* in the administration of state government,



A PLAN OF STATE GOVERNMENT.

and thus the governor does not have a corps of close advisers as does the President. Those who study the relative merits of the federal plan of government and state governments are inclined to believe that much efficiency and economy would result in state affairs, if state organization were made more like that of the federal government.

Explanation has already been given of the reasons for having the United States judges appointed by the President. In many states, however, the idea prevails that it is dangerous to give too large appointive powers to the governor. As a consequence, the people of those states prefer the plan of having the judges elected. Of course, all the advantages that result to the federal government by making the federal courts independent also result in those states where the courts are removed from unnecessary political agitation.

PROBLEMS — SECTION I

1. Explain the importance of the difference between the following statements:

The United States is divided into 48 states.

The United States is composed of 48 states.

2. Why is it that one finds different systems of courts in different states?

3. Is it the purpose of a constitution to provide for the details of government? If not, why?

4. Get a copy of your state constitution, and from its Bill of Rights write out the five rights which you think are of greatest importance to you.

5. What is the important point of difference between the plan of organization of the executive department of a state and of the federal government?

6. Imagine that your state government were reorganized to be similar to the federal government. Draw a diagram which would

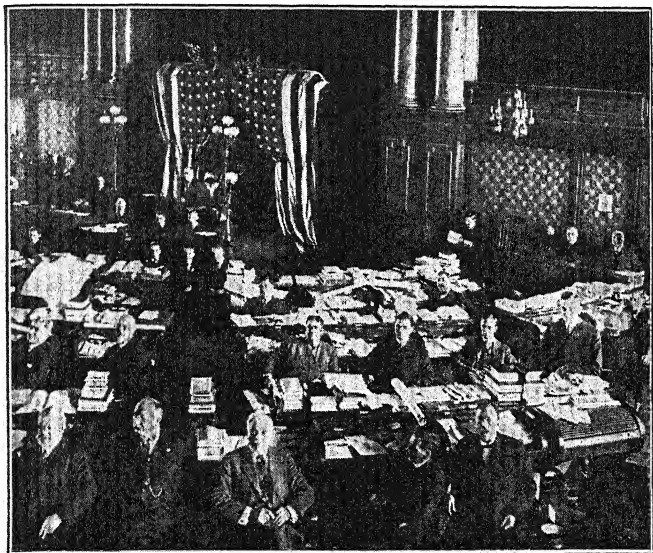
show an organization of your state government according to such a plan.

7. Can your governor dismiss the state treasurer? Can the President dismiss the secretary of the treasury? Discuss your answer.

8. Why have some states preferred to have the judges elected by the people? How are judges chosen in your state?

SECTION II — THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF STATE GOVERNMENT

The Powers of the Legislature of a State. — All states in the Union have a law-making body consisting of two



Copyright, Ewing Galloway.

A STATE LEGISLATURE IN JOINT SESSION.

houses. The smaller house is usually known as the Senate, the larger as the House of Representatives. The state is divided into districts and senators and representatives

are elected by the people of each district. In most of the states the legislature meets every two years; in a few states every year; in the state of Alabama every four years. The rules for the enactment of laws are not uniform, but, in general, a proposed bill must receive a majority of the vote of both houses and be signed by the governor, the same as in the federal government. A state legislature can pass any law which it may consider for the welfare of the people of the state, so long as there is no provision to the contrary in either the state constitution or the constitution of the United States. A state legislature could not pass a law which would provide for the state to coin money, for that is expressly forbidden in Article I, Section 10, in the Constitution of the United States, which definitely says, "no state shall . . . coin money." Likewise a state could not pass a law to maintain a navy, because that power is given the federal government. The restrictions upon a state legislature, however, are very limited, and it may be said to have power to pass any laws which "will protect the safety, health, and welfare of the people." As a result, state laws touch every phase of a citizen's activities from his birth to his death.

PROBLEMS — SECTION II

1. How many members are there in each chamber of your state legislature? Are there too many? too few? Point out the section of the state constitution which determines the number and read it to the class.
2. How long is the term of a state representative; of a state senator in your state? When is the next election to be held for each of these offices?

3. How often does the legislature meet in your state? Point out the section of the state constitution which determines the time of meeting and read it to the class.
4. Mention some laws which your state legislature could not pass because of a prohibition by your state constitution. Mention some which it could not pass because of a prohibition by the federal constitution. (Consult state and federal constitutions.)
5. Give five examples which will show how state law touches the life of a citizen from his birth to his death.

SECTION III — THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF STATE GOVERNMENT

In each state there is an executive branch of government which is charged with the duty of enforcing state laws. The governor is, in all cases, the chief executive officer, but there are a considerable number of other executive or administrative officers in each state. In most states there is a lieutenant-governor, who presides over the Senate, and who succeeds the governor in case of his death or disability. The important executive officers, the secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, etc., usually are elected. Many offices are filled by appointment of the governor. It must be remembered that state government does a great variety of things: it regulates health, operates prisons, maintains educational institutions, charitable institutions, hospitals, etc. In order to carry on all this work, many "boards" and "commissions" are established. Consequently, in state government one usually finds a board of health, a board of trustees of a hospital, board of tax commissioners, the highway commission, etc. In each case the name indicates the character of the work each one is expected to carry on.

PROBLEMS — SECTION III

1. Name the officers of the executive branch of government in your state which are elected by the people. Name those officers which are appointed by the governor. Name those boards and commissions that are appointed by the governor, and state in a sentence the duties of each.
2. Name the penal or reformatory institutions supported by your state; the educational institutions; the charitable institutions.
3. Draw a complete diagram which will show all the offices, boards, commissions, etc., of the executive branch of your state government with their proper relationships.

SECTION IV — THE STATE COURTS

What Are the Courts in Your State? — In each state there is a series of courts established as in the federal government. In each state there is a *Supreme Court*, often called the Supreme Court of Appeals. Each state is divided into districts or circuits, in each of which is a district or circuit court. (In some states there is a court established in each county; a number of counties may then be grouped into a district with a district court of appeals.) There are also local courts presided over by justices of the peace, police judges. A case may thus first come before the local justice or police judge, be carried on to the circuit court, and then appealed to the Supreme Court. Of course, in all cases involving only state law the judgment of the state court is final. There is the same opportunity for appeal of cases involving the violation of a federal law.

PROBLEMS — SECTION IV

1. Suppose one man has a claim against another and presents the case to the justice of the peace for settlement. Presuming that it is a case that could be appealed, before what courts could it be heard before reaching the Supreme Court in your state.

2. What are the courts in your county? What work does each court do?
3. Draw a diagram which will show how cases may be appealed from one court to a higher court in your state.
4. Explain the steps that may be taken in the case of a suspected criminal in the courts. In this discussion explain the plan of (a) the grand jury, (b) the prosecuting attorney, (c) the petit jury.

SECTION V—HOW STATE GOVERNMENTS ARE FINANCED

There are but few restrictions on state legislatures as to what forms of taxation they may impose, and as a result a great variety of taxes are found to be levied in the various states. In addition to taxes on property, taxes are found on incomes, inheritances, corporation stocks and bonds, transportation companies, gasoline, etc. In addition, fees and licenses are charged to corporations, insurance companies, banks and trust companies. Also, licenses must be purchased for fishing and hunting, operation of vehicles, etc. In the past few years the expenses of government have mounted rapidly and the problem of taxation is a very vital one. It is very important that systems of taxation be devised that will be just and fair. In 1918 the total cost of state government for the forty-eight states was \$561,000,000, or \$5.42 per person. Considerably over 70 per cent of this amount was derived from a tax on real and personal property.

PROBLEMS — SECTION V

1. Find out the principal sources of revenue for the support of your state government.
2. Has the cost of government in your state risen more rapidly in the past few years than the cost of living in your family? Discuss.
3. Are there any objections to the system of taxation which are in effect in your state? If so, what?

CHAPTER XVI

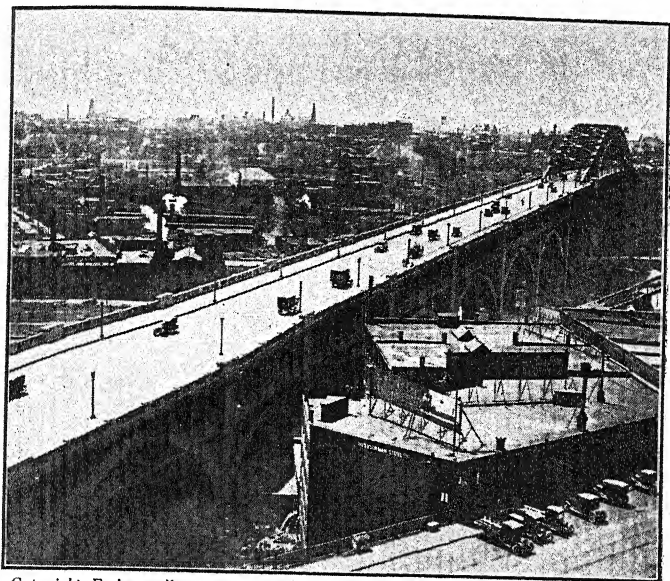
THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES AND TOWNS

SECTION I — THE PROBLEMS OF A CITY AND HOW THEY ARE SOLVED

Why Each City Has Its Own Problems. — In the United States in 1920 there were 15,692 incorporated cities, towns, and villages, inhabited by over 63,000,000 people — almost 60 per cent of our total population. Every one of these incorporated places, large or small, has arisen because of certain industrial or commercial advantages to those who live in that particular area. It soon becomes evident that these people living within this area have common problems which are peculiar to that community. A state legislature can make laws which will apply almost equally well to the people of the rural districts, from one end of the state to the other. But the problems of no two towns are alike. Providing for a water supply, sewage disposal, fire protection, transportation — all these and many other questions arise in each town, and the problem in each case requires a different method of solution.

What Are Some of the Problems of a City? — In the past fifty years cities have grown in number and population and city problems have become of increased importance. The problems of a city of 100,000 population are far more numerous than those of a city of 10,000 population. As population becomes congested in an area, the

protection of life and health becomes more difficult; housing problems arise; distribution of food becomes more difficult; recreation facilities need to be provided through parks



Copyright, Ewing Galloway.

THE HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE AND PART OF THE INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.

and "open spaces." These are but the beginnings of the problems peculiar to a city.

The work which a town or city government may be called upon to do can be classified as follows:

1. Construct necessary streets, alleys, public buildings, viaducts, etc.
2. Provide means for the protection of the life and property of all citizens.

3. Provide means for protection of health.
4. Provide means for recreation.
5. Provide educational facilities — schools, libraries, etc.

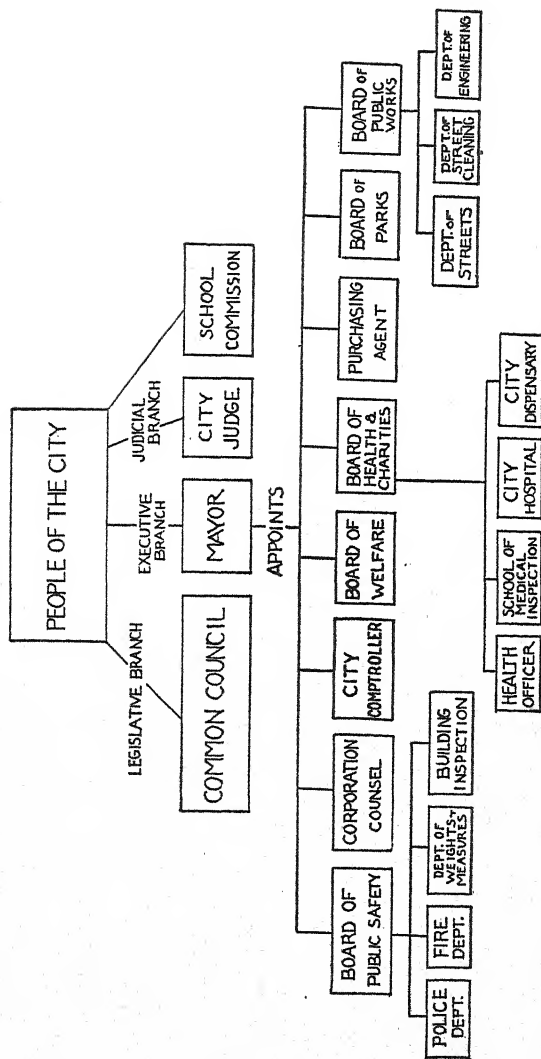
There are other types of work which a city government may do, but under these five headings may be included the principal tasks which city governments usually carry on.

How the City Gets the Right to Solve Its Own Problems.

— In order that a town or city government may solve its problems as its need may require, the state permits the municipality to become *incorporated*, that is, to become a *corporation*, and thus give it the right to carry on its own business.

The right of incorporation is granted by the state in a *charter* which sets forth the powers of the city, the form of government which shall be established, and the duties of the officers. The city *charter* is to a city what a constitution is to a state.

How City Government Is Organized. — As a general rule, city governments in their organization are greatly similar to the federal government. The powers of government are distinctly separated, and each branch works in much the same manner as the corresponding branch does for the federal government. There follows a chart which shows the working plan of organization of a city. A comparison of this chart with that which shows the plan of organization of the federal government will be useful.



A PLAN OF CITY GOVERNMENT.

General features of the Indianapolis plan.

Legislative Power. — In this type of city government, the legislative power is vested in a city council which corresponds to the House and Senate in the federal government. In some cities the council is composed of two chambers, as in the federal government; the more usual practice at the present time, however, is to have but one. The lawmaking powers of the council are determined by the charter of the city. The laws which the council passes usually are called *ordinances*, and apply only within the limits of the city.

The Executive Power. — (1) The Mayor: In the form of government shown in the diagram, the mayor is seen as the chief executive of the city, and executive power is centred in him as it is in the President in the federal government. In all public functions the mayor serves as spokesman for the city. He may veto ordinances of the council, and through his appointive power in the various boards of the executive department he exercises large powers in the administration of every phase of the city's work. His position is one of great responsibility, and he has great opportunity for both good and evil. The safety of life, health, property, and all else which belongs to the inhabitants of a city rests in large measure upon a wise, just, and honest administration of the city government by its mayor.

(2) The Various Boards: By referring to the diagram, it will be seen that "boards" are established for carrying on each of the five phases of a city's work. The members appointed to these boards are not expected actually to

carry on the work of the department, but rather to pass on general policies, and appoint competent men to carry out these policies. In the department of public safety a board of public safety, appointed by the mayor, will elect a chief of police. The chief of police is charged with the duty of directing the work of the police force, according to policies which the board of safety has outlined. The same would be true in every other department.

It should be understood that the diagram above is merely illustrative of the way the executive department of a city government may be organized. Many modifications of the plan are clearly possible. For example, many cities have the school board elected by the city council. Local conditions determine very largely the plan of organization which will best serve the city.

The Judicial Power. — As a distinct branch of city government, a city court is established, usually presided over by a city judge, often known as a police judge. Before this judge are brought all violators of city ordinances. In large cities the task of a police judge is a trying one. Every day he must hear and pass judgment upon a great variety of law violators: vagrants, petty criminals, violators of traffic ordinances, etc. When the police judge finds that one brought before him has violated a state law he turns the case over to those local officers who are charged with the duty of enforcing the state laws. Many cities, because of special problems which have arisen, have established separate courts for juvenile offenders, known as juvenile courts.

Village Government. — In the smaller towns and cities the work of government is directed very largely by the town council (legislative); the mayor, with a town or city marshal (executive). In many of the smaller towns the mayor is given judicial powers and offenders against the town ordinances are brought before him.

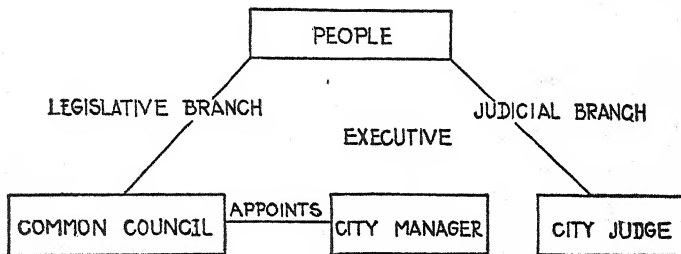
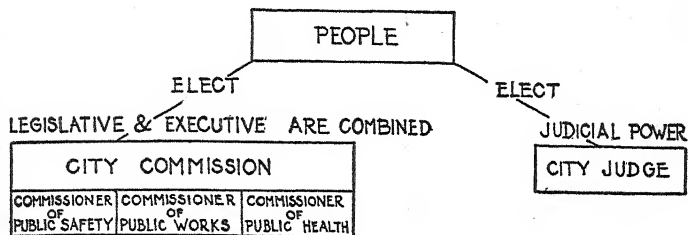
SECTION II — NEW FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Commission and Manager Plans. — In recent years a number of cities have viewed their work as very similar to that of a business corporation. Because of inefficiency and corruption practised with city government organized on the plan of the federal government, changes have been made which make the organization of the city government more like that of a business corporation. (See p. 95 for comparison.) This attempt to make city administration similar to business administration has given rise to two modified forms of city government: (a) commission form, (b) the city-manager form. The general features of each plan may be seen from a study of the diagram which follows.

The city-manager plan of government can, of course, be established in cities having a *mayor*; the mayor in that case would be charged with the duty of appointing a city-manager who would take the place of the various boards.

The Sources of Revenue for Towns. — As a usual thing, the principal source of revenue for the support of city government is from tax on real and personal property. Cities in some states also receive a considerable revenue from

taxes on certain types of business, licenses, fines, donations, etc. Due largely to the great increase in the duties which



AN OUTLINE OF A COMMISSION PLAN OF GOVERNMENT.

city governments have been called upon to assume in the past years, the costs of city government have been increasing rapidly.

A Study of Your Own City. —

I. Its Location and History.

1. What were the advantages of location which caused the town or city to grow up in this particular place?
2. Who were the earliest settlers?
3. In what year was application first made for a *charter*?
4. Has the town had more than one *charter*? If so, when were new charters granted? What changes were made? For what purpose?

5. Are there any problems which your city must solve which other cities do not have to solve? If so, explain.

II. The Organization of Your City Government.

1. Study the diagrams which show various types of organization of city government. Then draw a diagram of the organization of your own city government, including all the officials, and showing the relation of each.

III. The Legislative Department.

1. How many persons comprise your city council? When will there be another election of councilmen?
2. What are some of the important ordinances which have recently been passed by your city council?

IV. The Executive Department.

1. The Mayor:
 - (a) Is authority centralized in the mayor, or manager, of your city as completely as it is in the President in the federal government?
 - (b) If a street is poorly paved in your city, to what extent is the mayor, or manager, responsible for it?
 - (c) Can the mayor, or manager, dismiss the chief of police or the fire chief in your city? Should he have such power, or not?
2. The Departments under the Mayor, or Manager.
 - (a) Are there various boards appointed by the mayor? If so, name them and tell the general duties of each board.
 - (b) What board or official in your city has charge of building streets; of the police department; of the park system; of health?

V. The Judicial Department.

1. If a city ordinance is violated, who makes the arrest in your city?
2. Is there a city judge to hear the cases of violators of city ordinances?

VI. The Schools.

1. How is the board of school commissioners chosen?
2. Is there any reason to believe that any other method of

selection of a board of school commissioners would be beneficial?

VII. City Finances.

1. What is the total assessed valuation of the property in your city?
2. What was the tax rate for city government last year?
3. How much money did this tax rate raise for your city last year?
4. What other sources of revenue does your city have besides taxes?
5. What is the method by which money is procured for paving of streets, laying of sewers?
6. Are any public buildings being erected now? How much will they cost? How will the expense be met?

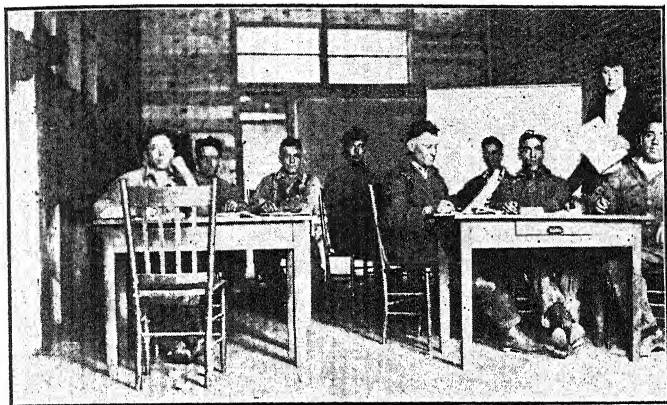
CHAPTER XVII

SOME PROBLEMS OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

Although we find our duties of citizenship very largely centred in our responsibilities to local groups, yet there is with every one of us a lasting consciousness that he is a part of a *nation*. Every American who travels in a foreign country is glad to have the chance to say: "I am an American citizen." Every boy who sees the flag go by feels the desire to be worthy of the great nation which the flag represents. It is a supreme privilege to belong to one *great group* of 110,000,000 people with worthy ideals to uphold and common problems to solve together. We dare not, as American citizens, forget the ideals for which America stands — nor dare we neglect to face squarely the problems which confront us as a *nation*.

How We Can Make America First. — The classroom of an American public school well represents what we mean by "worthy ideals to uphold and common problems to solve together." It is safe to venture that the ancestry of the members of your class in school represents no less than six foreign countries. And yet here is that class in America with all these nationalities represented — a group working together to solve the problem of learning and to uphold the ideal that learning is worth while. The members of your class have come together to get *their chance* — nationality has been forgotten. That is typical of

America as a whole. The entire 110,000,000 of us are here to get our chance; to live in a land where we can learn together, and work together, and live happily together;



NEW CITIZENS STUDYING THE BALLOT BEFORE VOTING AT THE POLLS.

and in making those things possible our differences of nationality must be forgotten in the interests of the common good.

What Shall We Ask of the Immigrant? — But when some members of your class have no interest in the common good of the class, that creates a problem. If some belong to the class only for what they can get, and with no ability to give or willingness to give, there is a serious question as to whether they should belong. And so it has always been in our country. Those who come to America selfishly, with nothing to give and wishing only to get, cannot do for America what she needs. In this connection we might call to mind some of the developments in our history

which bring to light the purposes and motives of those who came here to make America what she is.

After the discovery of America by Columbus, for over a century expeditions came across the Atlantic from various European nations; many were in search of gold, some in search of adventure. But it was not from those that America became settled. During that century affairs in Europe were going from bad to worse. Wars had destroyed the means and opportunities for producing wealth and times had become very hard; religious wars had made those in authority narrow-minded and tyrannical in their treatment of the religious life of their subjects. And so while there were *some* who were looking toward America as a source of wealth and fortune, there were still more who saw in America a land of hope for the establishment of homes where they might be free from oppression. The story of the colonization of America makes it clear that this land was not colonized by *fortune-hunters*, but rather by those who were willing to make any sacrifice for the security of their homes and for the future of the country. This may give us an idea of what to ask of those who want to come here. It was not the idea of our forefathers, nor is it ours, that this is to be a land of opportunity for merely getting rich, but rather to be a land of opportunity for the establishment of home life and community life which will grow strong men and women worthy of the land in which they live.

Why Those Who Come Must Be Able to Help. — There is another very practical reason why we need to make sure

that all those who live here will be assets to our country instead of liabilities. We now have a population of 110,000,000 people living on 3,026,789 square miles of territory; 1 square mile of territory for each 36 people. This has much to do with explaining the present "standard of living" in America. In a country where there is much land for few people, we should expect that making a living would be easy. As compared with other countries making a living *is easy*. We live both easier and better than any people in the world. This is in part due to the enterprise of our people, but it is also due to the great amount of resources which we have for each person. We should expect that in European countries, where there is a population so dense that there are anywhere from 200 to 800 people to every square mile of territory, the struggle for a living would be especially keen. And so in America we can expect that as our population increases our struggle for a living also will become increasingly severe. For that reason we need to make particularly sure that those who live here and those who wish to come to live here may add permanently to the productive power of our nation.

What of Those Who Cannot "Learn the Signals"? —
We also need to give attention to the ability to "learn the signals" in every national enterprise which we undertake. In 1920, of nearly 83,000,000 people above ten years of age in America almost 5,000,000 were illiterate; that is, 6 persons of each 100. These 6 have no means of learning how to live; they have no chance of knowing or understanding their surroundings. If the men of the United

States were picked at random (of course, without respect to race or nationality) out of every military company that could be formed of 100 men there would be 6 illiterates. This must be corrected for the sake of the safety of the nation. In a company of soldiers, the 6 men who cannot understand orders will make any effective manœuvre quite impossible. In a close election, where 100 votes are cast, 6 votes will easily determine the result. It is that which makes the condition so serious. An equal right of voting is given to all in our country. We dare not permit a condition to continue by which the votes of the ignorant may determine the policies of our nation.

What of Those Who Will Not "Learn the Signals." —

But even a more serious menace than those who cannot read and learn the "signals in national enterprises" are those who will not take an interest in our public affairs. There are thousands in our population who can learn about our national problems and should learn, but who declare themselves not interested in public affairs because they are too busy with their own business. There is a story of a watchmaker who had joined the army. When the army was in camp and there was but little to do, he busied himself repairing the watches of his comrades. At length he had built up quite a little business. And one day, with a great many watches on hand to repair, the order came for his regiment to go into action. And the watchmaker said: "Why, I can't leave, I have so many watches to repair." But his superior officer just laughed at him, and so did his comrades, and so would you. But that watchmaker is not

different from the man in our country who declares himself so busy with his own business that he cannot give his attention to the problems of his nation.

What Shall We Do About Our New Neighbors? — We have been discussing problems that are strictly within the family. But we find in these later days that new problems of dealing with our neighboring nations are arising. A man who has lived all his life on a large estate, with no near neighbors, finds new questions confronting him as people move up close to the boundaries of his domain. Something like that is happening to us in America in these times. Europe and Asia have moved much closer to us than in years gone. In the days of the Pilgrims, Europe was separated from us by weeks of perilous travel. To-day Europe is separated from us only by the click of the sender's key on a transatlantic cable. If we wish to make the journey ourselves, Europe is but a few days away in palatial surroundings. And so, because of new means of transportation of our ideas and ourselves, we find our neighbors closer. We can no longer wholly disregard them, for what they do seriously affects what we can do.

This presents a new and difficult problem for us — and as time goes on we can expect the problem to become more difficult. We do not want America to give up that independence which is our heritage; on the other hand, we do not wish to become known in the world as a selfish nation any more than we as individuals would wish to be known as selfish individuals. We must find a way to adjust ourselves according to our *own* traditions to these new neigh-

bors who have moved closer to us. At the same time, we must find a way to be a big-hearted, generous neighbor at all times to these nations whom we can help. That is the kind of a people we wish to be; that is the kind of a nation we wish to make of America.

PROBLEMS — CHAPTER XVII

1. There have been those in our country who have declared that we are not a nation. Find all the definitions that you can of a nation, and from them prove that we are a nation.
2. Find out the various nationalities that are represented in the membership of your class within two generations back. Does the fact that all these nationalities are represented make it impossible for your class to work together for your common good?
3. Find out the provisions of the existing law regarding admission of immigrants. What qualifications do you think should be required of those who wish to come to America?
4. The population of the United States in 1910 was 91,972,266; in 1920, 105,710,599. If that rate of increase is maintained, what will be the population when you are seventy years of age?
5. Why is it more serious to have illiterates in a country where the government is by the people than in a country where government is by a king?
6. Have you ever known of any people who were similar to the watchmaker? Wherein do you believe that they were wrong?
7. What do people mean when they say that the world has grown smaller? In what various ways are nations closer to us than ever before?
8. Why would you think ill of a man who would give generously to all the children of the neighborhood and allow his own children to go hungry? Would you think ill of a man who would give every luxury to his own children and would have nothing to do with the problems of the unfortunate in his own community? Do the answers to these questions have any bearing upon our national problems?

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

THE following preamble and specifications, known as the Declaration of Independence, accompanied the resolution of Richard Henry Lee, which was adopted by Congress on the 2d day of July, 1776. This declaration was agreed to on the 4th, and the transaction is thus recorded in the Journal for that day:

"Agreably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report. The Declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:"

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes

destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

1. He has refused he assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

2. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

3. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

4. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

5. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

6. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

7. He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of

foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

8. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

9. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure on their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

11. He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

12. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

13. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation;

14. For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

15. For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

16. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

17. For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

18. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of a trial by jury;

19. For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

20. For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

21. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

22. For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

23. He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

24. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

25. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mer-

cenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

26. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

27. He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine

Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND.

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

DELAWARE.

Cæsar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone.

Charles Carroll. of
Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jun.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jun.,
Thomas Lynch, Jun.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes* shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.* The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

* Partly superseded by the 14th Amendment, p. 290.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.*

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.*

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time

* See the 17th Amendment, p. 292.

by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign

it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.*

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

* See the 16th Amendment, p. 291.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or per-

son holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.*

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death,

* This paragraph was in force only from 1788 to 1803. It was superseded by the 12th Amendment, p. 289.

resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and

other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;*—between citizens of different States,—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and to fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. 1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of

* See the 11th Amendment, p. 289.

treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one

thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President and Deputy from Virginia.*

New Hampshire.—John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts.—Nathaniel Gor-
ham, Rufus King.

Connecticut.—Wm. Samuel John-
son, Roger Sherman.

New York.—Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey.—William Livingston,
William Patterson, David Brearley,
Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania.—Benjamin Frank-
lin, Robert Morris, Thomas Fitz-
simons, James Wilson, Thomas
Mifflin, George Clymer, Jared Inger-
soll, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware.—George Read, John
Dickinson, Jacob Broom, Gunning
Bedford, Jr., Richard Bassett.

Maryland.—James McHenry,
Daniel Carroll, Daniel of St. Tho.
Jenifer.

Virginia.—John Blair, James
Madison, Jr.

North Carolina.—William Blount,
Hugh Williamson, Richard Dobbs
Spaight.

South Carolina.—John Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia.—William Few, Abraham
Baldwin.

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I *

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

* The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI *

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII †

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots, the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and

* Adopted in 1798.

† Adopted in 1804.

a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII *

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV †

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for

* Adopted in 1865.

† Adopted in 1868.

participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV *

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI †

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

* Adopted in 1870.

† Passed July, 1909; proclaimed February 23, 1913.

ARTICLE XVII *

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII †

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX ‡

1. The rights of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

* Passed May, 1912, in lieu of paragraph one, Section 3, Article 1, of the Constitution and so much of paragraph two of the same Section as relates to the filling of vacancies; proclaimed May 31, 1913.

† Passed January 16, 1919; proclaimed January 29, 1919.

‡ Declared in force August 26, 1920.

INDEX

A

Accident, 145
Activities of a citizen, 13-16
Age of steel, 86
American Revolution, 188
Apprenticeship, 77
Articles of Confederation, 189
Assessment of taxes, 43
Assessor, 48

B

Banks, service of, 131
Bill of Rights, 173
Board of Directors, 93
Bonds, 52

C

Cabinet, function of, 235
Capital, defined, 68; how it comes to exist, 69; wise use of, 150
Child labor, 147
Cities, problems of, 254; rise of, 115-116; specialization of, 119
City government, 256; charters, 256; commission form of, 260; diagram of, 257; manager form, 260; ordinances of, 258; revenues of, 260-261
Congress, powers of, 233
Conservation, importance of, 135; meaning of, 134; of coal, 160; of forests, 138; of metals, 142-143; of natural gas, 141; of petroleum, 142; of soil, 137
Constitution, service of a, 30
Consumers goods, 68
Co-operation, benefits of, 24-27; in education, 24; in industry, 24, 25; in government, 25, 26; principles of, 28-39; science of, 7
Corporation, chart of organization, 95; defined and described, 88, 89; importance of, 91
County government, service of, 211-212
County officers, 212, 213
Courts of United States, 239
Credit, development of, 130-131
Crompton, Samuel, 81

D

Davy, Sir Humphry, 84
Declaration of Independence, 188
Democracy, 31
Departments, federal, 236
Divine right of kings, 169
Dollar, defined, 129

E

Elections, 222
Eminent domain, defined, 34; importance of, 35
Employee, rise of, 111
Enterprise, meaning of, 65; results of, 72

F

Factory, rise of, 98
Federal and state powers, 198-209; caring for the poor, 202; coining of money, 201; life and health, 198; making war, 208; post-offices, 205; property, 199; providing schools, 203; regulation of commerce, 206; roads and bridges, 199; units of measure, 201

G

Gainful occupations, defined, 62, 63
Goods, defined, 59
Government, 155; accident, 158; care of unfortunates, 164; common welfare, 166; education, 164; health, 157; justice, 160; liberty, 159; life, 155; property, 161; public works, 165; standards of measure, 162
Governor, state, 251
Groups, 14-21

H

Hamilton, Alexander, 220
Hargreaves, James, 81
Home groups, 15-17

Horse-power, in manufacture, 105
House of Representatives of United States, 231, 232

I

Industrial advantages, analysis of, 120-124
Industrial groups, 15-18
Industrial revolution, 79
Initiative, the, 216
Interstate commerce, defined, 206
Interstate Commerce Commission, 206
Iron, production of, 84

J

Jefferson, Thomas, 220

L

Labor, 67
Law, in school, 53; purpose of, 29

M

Machines, development of, 78
Magna Carta, 171
Majority, importance of, 33; meaning of, 32
Manufacture, new methods of, 76, 77
Money, service of, 128
Montesquieu, 182

N

National elections, 232
National government, diagram, 229
Natural resources, 60, 62, 66
Naturalization, 224
Nominations, methods of, 221

P

Personal property, 48
Petition of Right, 172
Plurality, meaning of, 32
Political parties, organization of, 219
Precinct committeeman, 219
President of the United States, 234, 235
Primary elections, 221
Production, essentials of, 64, 65; forms of, 59, 60; large scale, 99

R

Real property, 48
Recreation groups, 15, 19, 20
Referendum, 216
Reform Bill of 1832 (England), 175; of 1867, 176; of 1884, 177
Rehabilitation, 147
Representation of the People Act, 177
Republic, described, 31
Rights of an American, 191, 192
Rousseau, 182

S

Saving, relation to capital, 71
School groups, 15-17
Senate of United States, 231, 232
Specialization, 106-111; benefits of, 108; demands of, 109; meaning of, 106; problems of, 110
State, 244-253; constitutions, 245; courts, 252; finances, 253; government, form of, 247; legislatures, 249; powers, 196
Stockholders, 90
Stocks, corporation, 89
Suffrage, extension of, 192

T

Tax levy, how fixed, 49, 50
Taxation, 41-44; ability to pay theory of, 42; benefit theory of, 42
Taxes, federal, forms of, 241
Township trustee, 45
Transportation, development of means of, 126; rise of, 125

U

United States, 228-243

V

Value, 133
Vice-President, 237

W

Wants, 59
Waste, forms of, 143, 144
Watt, James, 83
Workers, census classification of, 63
Worship groups, 15-20